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Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

EDITED BY

CHARLES WILLIAM EMIL MILLER

FRANCIS WHITE PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WITH THE COOPERATION OF

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, HERMANN COLLITZ, TENNEY FRANK,
WILFRED P. MUSTARD, D. M. ROBINSON

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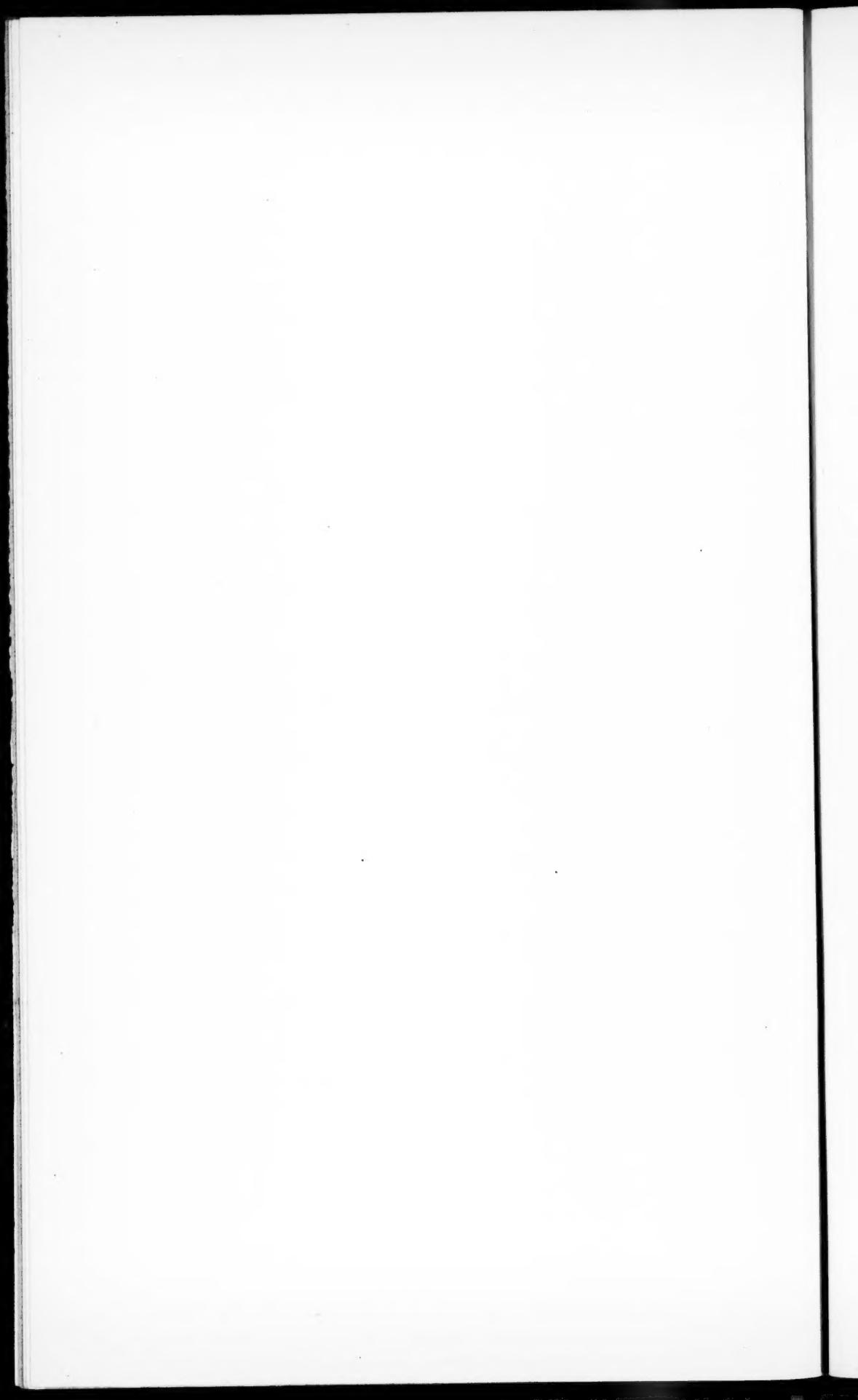
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A STUDY IN THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BE- TWEEN EGYPT AND SYRIA IN THE THIRD CENTURY BEFORE CHRIST

In the year 1915 at Kharabet el Gerza in the Fayum, on the site of the ancient village of Philadelphia, a large collection of papyri was unearthed. The papyri concern the activity of Apollonios, the *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who in that capacity managed the economic life of Egypt as the king's representative.¹ One of the principal agents of Apollonios was a certain Zenon, and it was he who docketed and filed the business correspondence of Apollonios. Our collection of papyri contains letters written by Apollonios to Zenon and by Zenon to Apollonios, letters from other members of Apollonios' staff to him or to Zenon, and also letters written by Apollonios and Zenon to these other agents. In addition to letters the archives of Zenon contain many business documents, such as contracts of sale, records of expenditure, and lists of the dues collected by port officials.²

¹ See M. Rostovtzeff, 'A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C.', Madison, Wisconsin, 1922, p. 16. In this work we have an excellent study of Apollonios' administration of the internal affairs of Ptolemy. In the rest of this paper I shall refer to this work as 'A Large Estate.'

² These papyri have been and are still being published by C. C. Edgar in the 'Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire' under the title of 'Zenon Papyri' (Vol. I published in 1925, Vol. II, in 1926, at Cairo) and by G. Vitelli in the 'Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto' (Vols. IV and V, 1917; Vol. VI, 1920, at Firenze). These publications will

These papyri, which are generally known as the Zenon Papyri, are valuable to us primarily for the bright light which they shed upon the internal administration of Egypt in the third century before Christ. But they also give us useful information about the activities of the officials of Egypt and their agents in the provinces of the Ptolemaic empire, for Apollonios did not limit himself to the control of internal affairs, but also took a lively interest in the administration of Ptolemy's provincial possessions, notably in Syria. To this end he despatched Zenon on a mission to Syria which lasted for about two years, the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos, that is from the autumn of 260 B. C. to the early summer of 258; and the letters and other documents of these years tell us something of the business transacted by Zenon during this journey. Unfortunately we cannot be sure in whose interests Zenon was acting, for it is very difficult in all the documents of this period to distinguish between the private affairs of Apollonios and the public business of Ptolemy.³ But we must remember that Zenon was an agent of Apollonios and consequently responsible to him. We have no documents earlier than those of the year 25 of the reign of Philadelphos, which show Zenon to be an agent of Apollonios, although there is one letter among the archives of Zenon which indicates that he was already a member of the court circle of Apollonios as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth year of Philadelphos' rule.⁴ However, it is probable that Zenon had been in the employ of Apollonios for some time previous to the year 25, as Apollonios would have hesitated to entrust such a responsible mission as that to Syria to an untried man.

We have no definite information about the exact date of Zenon's departure for Syria, but we have good reason to assign it to the year 25 of the reign of Philadelphos. There are in the Zenon collection two letters of this year written by Apollonios, one to Apollodotos, the other to Hikesios.⁵ How did these letters come into the possession of Zenon? Presumably Apollonios

be referred to in the rest of this paper as 'Edgar' and 'P. S. I.' respectively, together with the number of the document cited.

³ 'A Large Estate,' p. 27.

⁴ P. S. I. 551. Cf. 'A Large Estate,' pp. 23-24.

⁵ P. S. I. 324, 325.

entrusted them to him for delivery to the persons addressed. The letters instruct Apollodotos and Hikesios to order grain exporters from Syria to pay certain sums to the bank. Obviously these men must have been in Syria to carry out this commission. From this fact it is clear that Zenon was at least planning to set out for Syria in the year 25. The letters have no dockets to show that they were received, and the logical inference to be drawn from this is that Zenon delivered the instructions of Apollonios to Apollodotos and Hikesios by word of mouth. This was either in the year 25 or at the latest in the early part of the year 26. The two letters are identical except for the name of the person addressed. The letter to Hikesios reads as follows:

Ἄπολλώνιος Ἰκεσίῳ χαίρειν. Έάν τιν { ε } α τῶν ἔξαγόντων τὸν σῖτον ἐξ Συρίας διαγράφωσιν ὑμῖν ἢ τὰς τιμὰς ἢ τὸ παραβόλιον, παραλαμβάνετε παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ διδοτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς σύμβολα διπλᾶ ἐσφραγισμένα, γράφοντες τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ καταβάλλοντος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ ἐὰν ὑπὲρ ἄλλον καταβάλλῃ.

*Ἐρρωσο. Λκε, Ἀρτεμισίον ιβ.

Verso Ἰκεσίῳ.⁶

We cannot be sure whether the grain mentioned in this letter belonged to Ptolemy or to Apollonios. It may be that Ptolemy had certain estates in Syria and that he did not allow merchants to export grain from them without paying to him the full value of the grain or at least security that the full value would be paid eventually. Or it may be that Ptolemy wished to limit the export of Syrian grain in general. If this was his purpose, his motive may have been his fear lest Syrian grain might undersell grain from Egypt in the foreign markets. But if Ptolemy compelled the exporters of Syrian grain to make payments for the privilege of exporting, the price of Syrian grain would have to

⁶ P. S. I. 325. I translate it thus: "Apollonios to Hikesios greeting. If some of those exporting grain from Syria pay to you the full value or the security, take it from them through the bank and give us sealed receipts in duplicate, writing the name of the man who makes the payment and the amount of money and whether he makes payment in behalf of another. Goodbye. Year 25. The twelfth day of Artemisios." (Verso) "To Hikesios."

be correspondingly raised in the foreign or Egyptian markets, to leave a reasonable profit to the grain merchants, and this would naturally facilitate the sale of Egyptian grain.

But it is rather more probable that the grain mentioned in these letters came from the Palestinian estates of Apollonios, and that he was trying to prevent merchants from exporting it without making proper payment to himself. We know that Apollonios had an estate at Bethanath, in Galilee, and it is more than likely that he had other estates in that region.⁷ Sidon and Ptolemais are the best ports near to Bethanath. Ptolemais is somewhat nearer to Bethanath and was probably the port from which produce from Apollonios' estate was ordinarily shipped to Egypt. That being the case, it is quite possible that men trying to smuggle produce from the estate out of the country without paying Apollonios would use Sidon as their port in preference to Ptolemais, where Apollonios may have had inspectors. We do not know where Hikesios and Apollodotos were when Zenon delivered Apollonios' orders to them, but they may well have been at Sidon.⁸

My theory, then, is that Apollonios knew, or at least suspected, that grain from his estate at Bethanath was being exported surreptitiously from Sidon. To put a stop to this abuse he ordered Apollodotos and Hikesios to watch all vessels sailing from Sidon and to collect the value of all the grain that was being exported or at least to get suitable security that the full value would be paid. Apparently his suspicions had been aroused that the merchants were acting in concert with other interested parties, for he wants to know whether the merchants are making payment in behalf of others. These persons, in my opinion, were the ten-

⁷ P. S. I. 594. This is a letter from a certain Nikanor to Zenon in which he writes that one Melas is sending Syrian wine to Apollonios from his estate at Bethanath. Melas appears to have been the manager of this estate. For further notice of Melas see P. S. I. 554.

⁸ Support of this opinion is found in an account of the money used by a commercial agent, presumably in the employ of Apollonios, travelling between Alexandria and the coast of Syria. For in this account the name of Hikesios appears just before the mention of Sidon, which suggests, although it does not prove, that he was stationed there in the twenty-seventh year of Ptolemy Philadelphos. Edgar 59010. Cf. P. S. I. 558 and Edgar 59037 for further evidence about Hikesios and Apollodotos.

ants of Apollonios' estate, who were selling grain that did not belong to them but to their master. Of course, the control of exports from Sidon may have been only one part of the commission of Hikesios and Apollodotos, for similar supervision may have been needed at other ports as well. In our final decision as to whether the grain mentioned in these letters rightfully belongs to Ptolemy or to Apollonios we must not forget the fact that the letters have no dockets acknowledging receipt, which probably shows that their content was delivered orally. Zenon would hardly have conducted the business of Ptolemy in such an informal manner. But it must be admitted that the letters which we have are Zenon's private copies of the original letters which may have been delivered. However, the fact that Zenon's mission as a whole seems to be more in the interests of Apollonios than of Ptolemy, and our knowledge that Apollonios had estates in Palestine combine to lend weight to the opinion that the grain belonged to Apollonios.

Only one letter of the year 26 has been published. It is from Apollonios to Zenon and concerns the placing of two men on a ship and their subsequent payment. It reads thus:

Απολλώνιος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. ἀπεστάλκαμεν πρό[ς σε] Νικό-
μαχον καὶ Ζωίλον. σύστησον οὖν αὐτὸὺς [] εἰς τὸν κέλητα
ἢ τὴν κυβαλαν
ὅπως πλέωσι καὶ τὸ ὄψώνιον ὁ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐκτίθεται καὶ
οὗτοι λαμβάνωσιν. ἔχουσι δὲ πρόδομα παρ' ἡμῶν ἔκαστος
ἀργυρίον δραχμὰς εἴκοσι.

Ἐρρωσο. Λκς, Ὑπερβερε κε.

Verso Λκς, Ὑπερβερεταίου.

Ζήνωνι.

ε. ⁹

Apollonios probably wrote this letter in Alexandria, and Zenon, as we have seen, was probably already in Palestine. This makes it almost certain that Nikomachos and Zoilos were to be employed upon a coasting vessel, and not in service on the Nile,

⁹ Edgar 59002. I translate it thus: "Apollonios to Zenon greeting. We have sent to you Nikomachos and Zoilos. Therefore place them on the *κέλης* or the *κυβαλα* and may they receive the same salary that is paid to the others. Each of them has twenty drachmae advance payment from us. Goodbye. Year 26. The twenty-fifth day of Hyperberetaios." (Verso). "Year 26. Of Hyperberetaios. To Zenon. 5 (?)."

although we do find that *κυβαῖαι* were used up the river as well as on the sea.¹⁰ We see from this letter that Zenon's mission was not confined to the internal affairs of Syria and Palestine, but that he was to exercise control over vessels engaged in commerce along the coast. The letters to Apollodotos and Hikesios and the letter to Zenon about Nikomachos and Zoilos are all that we have that bear upon the activity of Zenon in Syria and Palestine before the year 27, but about this year we are much better informed.

Let us consider first a contract for the sale of a little slave girl drawn up in this year. The deed was written in duplicate on a single sheet of papyrus, and I give the second copy:

[βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ νιοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἔτους ἑβδόμου
 [καὶ εἰκοστοῦ, ἐφ' ιερέως Ἀλέξανδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν, κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου
 [τῶν ὄντων ἐν Ἀλέξανδρείᾳ, μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ, ἐν Βίρται τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος.

[ἀπέδοτο Νικάνωρ Ξένοκλέους Κνιδίος τῷ [ν] [Τουβίου ἵππεων κληροῦχος]

[Ζήνωνι Ἀγρεοφῶντ]ος Καννίῳ τῷ περὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν διοικητὴν

[παιδίσκην Βαβυλώ]νιον ἦι ὄνομα Σφραγὶς ὡ[σ] ἐτ]ῶν ἑπτὰ δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα.

[.]ος Ἀνανίου Πέρσης [τῷ]ν Τουβίου [ἱππεων] κληροῦχος.

[μάρτυρες] [.]ος Ἀγάθωνος Πέρσης] Πολέμων Στράτωνος Μακεδών,

[|[οι δύο] τῶν Τουβίου ι] ππέων κληροῦχοι, Τιμ[όπολις] Βοτέω Μιλήσιος,

[Ηράκλειτος Φιλίππου Ἀθηναῖος,] Ζήνων Τιμάρχου [Κο]λοφώνιος, Δημόστρατος.

[Διονυσίου Ἀσπένδιος, οι] τέσσαρες τῶν περὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν διοικητήν.

(Verso) ὡ[σ] ἡ παιδίσκη[σ]¹¹

¹⁰ See Edgar 59002, note, in which he cites Edgar 59012 and P. S. I. 594 in proof that *κυβαῖαι* were used in Nile service.

¹¹ Edgar 59003. I translate it thus: "Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and

This document is of the early part of the year 27. The little slave girl Sphragis is sold to Zenon for fifty drachmae, and this is only one of several documents in which the exporting of slaves from Syria to Egypt is attested. Great ceremony seems to have attended the sale of this young slave by Nikanor to Zenon. Zenon, as we know, is acting in Syria and Palestine as the agent of Apollonios, and in the same fashion Nikanor may have been acting in the interests of a certain Toubias, if he was not selling Sphragis in his own right. Both parties to the transaction have several witnesses, and many of the witnesses appear to be Greeks and Macedonians, who are described as *klerouchoi*, that is military settlers, who in this case are mounted. It is interesting to note the presence of these *klerouchoi* of Greek and Macedonian origin in this province of Ptolemy Philadelphos recently conquered from the Seleucid king. The settlement of soldiers in newly conquered provinces was one of the measures employed by the Ptolemies to secure their rule. One of the *klerouchoi* also has the title of *dikastes*. The *dikastes* may have been a member of a commission or judicial board to settle disputes between the military members of the community.¹²

The sale takes place at Birta, in Ammanitis, east of the Jordan. Our decision as to the exact location of Birta must be

his son Ptolemy king, the 27th year, in the priesthood of Alexander and of the brother and sister gods, Arsinoe daughter of Philadelphos basket-bearer of those in Alexandria, month Xandikos, in Birta of Ammanitis, Nikanor son of Xenokles a Cnidian of those about Toubias sold to Zenon son of Agreophon a Caunian of those about Apollonios the *dioiketes* a Babylonian slave girl named Sphragis about seven years old for fifty drachmae. Surety(?) the son of Ananias a Persian a *klerouchos* (of the horsemen) of Toubias. Witnesses (?) *dikastes* the son of Agathon a Persian, Polemon the son of Stratton a Macedonian, (the two) *klerouchoi* of the horsemen of Toubias, Timopolis the son of Botes a Milesian, Herakleitos the son of Philip an Athenian, Zenon the son of Timarchos a Kolophonian, Demostratos the son of Dionysios an Aspendian, the four of the court of Apollonios the *dioiketes*. (Verso). Sale of a slave girl."

¹² L. H. Vincent, 'La Palestine dans les Papyrus ptolémaïques de Gerza,' in the *Revue biblique* of 1920, pp. 161-202. See especially page 185 for the *dikastes*. This article of Vincent gives a good picture of the family of Toubias and also interprets several of the Zenon Papyri which deal with Palestine. For the *dikastes* see also Edgar 59006, note to line 25.

reserved until we have established the identity of Toubias, as the solution of this problem affords a key to the solution of the other. I have said that Nikanor may have been acting as the agent of Toubias in the sale of Sphragis. Moreover, the *klerouchoi* appear to have been under his command, and probably it was not uncommon for the police soldiers, as the *klerouchoi* were, to be under the command of a prominent man of the locality. Toubias was probably a native chieftain in Ammanitis chosen by Ptolemy Philadelphos to be the administrator of this region.¹³ We have two letters written by Toubias in the year 29 which show his desire to court the favor of Apollonios and of Ptolemy.¹⁴ In one of these letters he informs Apollonios that he is sending him a eunuch and four young slaves to Alexandria, and in the other he writes that he is sending some unusual breeds of horses and wild asses to Egypt. The size of these gifts, the respectful address which Toubias employs, and the whole tone of these letters indicate Toubias' keen desire to do the right thing. This leads one to the conclusion that Toubias was an official of the king, although a native of Ammanitis. Do we not see in the Toubias of our document a member of a family prominent in this region since the return of the Jews from their captivity in Babylon? Nehemiah tells us of a certain Tobiah the Ammonite (circa 445 B. C.),¹⁵ who is distinctly hostile to orthodox Judaism and opposes the building of the walls of Jerusalem upon the return of the Jews to their home. We learn from Flavius Josephus that the Ammonites, Moabites, Samaritans, and all the inhabitants of Coelesyria opposed Nehemiah in his building of the walls of Jerusalem.¹⁶ The family of the Toubiads remained prominent in Ammanitis from this time onwards till the time of the Maccabean restoration.¹⁷ The Toubias for whom Nikanor sold the slave girl to Zenon may reasonably be regarded as a member of this family.

About the year 265 B. C. the people of Ammanitis felt it expedient to avow the sovereignty of Ptolemy Philadelphos. The capital of this district, Rabbath-Ammon, took the new name of

¹³ Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

¹⁴ Edgar 59075 and 59076. To be considered later in detail.

¹⁵ Nehemiah 2, 19; 4, 3; 4, 7; 6, 1; 6, 12; 6, 14.

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XI, 5, 8.

¹⁷ Maccabees I, 5, 13. Cf. Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 188, note 1.

Philadelphia in the king's honor.¹⁸ The sale of Sphragis takes place not in Philadelphia, but in Birta. This ancient town stood very near the site of the modern village of 'Araq el-Emir, where there has been some productive excavating.¹⁹ The digging has been done in the side of a hill which forms a natural amphitheatre and which commands an extended view to the southeast. The investigations carried on at this place have revealed a series of chambers in two storeys hollowed out of the hillside. Some of the chambers are carefully built and lighted by large windows and were probably used for living rooms, whereas some were apparently used as stables. The whole construction gives the impression of having been a place of refuge. In front of these apartments a terrace gradually slopes down to a small stream. Not far from this place on a slight rise of the ground the ruins of an aqueduct and of a small and square Doric building appear. Further to the south and at the end of a terrace have been found the ruins of a somewhat larger building, with a floor measurement of 37 by 18½ meters. Butler reconstructed this building with reasonable accuracy, and by a close study of the archaeological evidence he came to the conclusion that it should be attributed to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos. And over the entrance to these subterranean apartments appears the word "Toubias" in Hebrew characters.²⁰ It may possibly be, then, that this was Toubias' retreat. He may have felt that such a place of refuge was necessary for him as the agent of Ptolemy in case Ammanitis should at any time disavow its allegiance to Egypt.

Let us now turn to Flavius Josephus and see whether his account of the history of the Jewish people sheds any light upon the whole question of the buildings at 'Araq el-Emir and the functions of Toubias. He tells us of a certain Joseph, the son of Tobias, who is an influential man in the collection of taxes in Palestine. We shall return later to a discussion of the functions and activities of this Joseph, but we are now more con-

¹⁸ H. C. Butler, Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria, Division 2, Section A 1, pp. 1-25. For Rabbath-Ammon see especially page 17.

¹⁹ Butler, op. cit., pp. 1-25. Vincent, op. cit., identifies Birta with the ancient site known as 'Araq el-Emir.

²⁰ Vincent, op. cit., p. 196.

cerned with his illegitimate son Hyrkanos. Flavius Josephus tells us that upon the death of his father " Hyrcanus determined not to return to Jerusalem any more, but seated himself beyond Jordan, and was at perpetual war with the Arabians, and slew many of them, and took many of them captives. He also erected a strong castle, and built it entirely of white stone to the very roof, and had animals of a prodigious magnitude engraven upon it. He also drew around it a great and deep canal of water. He also made caves many furlongs in length by hollowing a rock that was over-against him; and then he made large rooms in it, some for feasting, and some for sleeping, and some for living in. He introduced also a vast quantity of waters which ran along it, and which were very delightful and ornamental in the court. But still he made the entrances at the mouth of the cave so narrow that no more than one person could enter by them at once. And the reason why he built them after that manner was a good one; it was for his own preservation, lest he should be besieged by his own brethren, and run the hazard of being caught by them. Moreover, he built courts of greater magnitude than ordinary, which he adorned with vastly large gardens. And when he had brought this place to this state he named it Tyre. This place is between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon."²¹ This description by Josephus so closely corresponds with the finds at 'Araq el-Emir that we are almost forced to accept the identity of one with the other. Hyrkanos is said to have built this refuge in a period immediately preceding the accession of Antiochos IV, which took place in 175/4 B. C. He appears to have been the grandson of the Toubias of our document. The name "Tobias" which is found over the entrance to one of the rooms in the subterranean building indicates that Josephus may be incorrect in ascribing this structure to Hyrkanos. It may be that he repaired the former refuge of his grandfather or made important additions to it, but some building was undoubtedly there from the time of Toubias.²² The archaeological evidence as interpreted by

²¹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XII, 4, 11, translation of W. Whiston.

²² De Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre sainte*, I, p. 224 (1865), was of the opinion that the building antedated Hyrkanos, but he ascribed it to a time much earlier than Butler did.

Butler and the presence of the name "Tobias" over the lintel combine to cause us to ascribe this structure to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos. Is it not probable that these ruins form part of the ancient town of Birta and that the sale of Sphragis took place here, as Vincent believes? Although Philadelphia was the principal town of Ammanitis, Toubias may have administered it for Ptolemy from Birta. Birta is in the midst of a fertile region, a region that would be very suitable for the settlement of *klerouchoi*.

The Tobiah mentioned in Nehemiah is noteworthy for his opposition to the authorities in Jerusalem, and it is interesting that Hyrkanos in the pages of Flavius Josephus appears as recalcitrant and hostile to orthodoxy. If the larger building at the southern end of the terrace at 'Araq el-Emir which Butler reconstructs and ascribes to the Toubias who administered Ammanitis under Philadelphos is considered in this connection, we see that he too was not an exception to the family tradition of heterodoxy. For the building has about the frieze a series of lions, which would not be regarded as seemly by orthodox Jews. On the other hand, Toubias was not altogether out of favor with the priestly class in Jerusalem, for we learn from Josephus that he married the sister of Onias, the high priest.²³ Of this marriage is born Joseph, whose activities in the interests of his country and of Egypt are described at considerable length by the historian Josephus. It may well be that in these activities he is but carrying on the work of his father Toubias. For that reason a study of his activities is pertinent to the question of the duties and functions of Toubias.

It would appear that Onias, the high priest, has been negligent in regard to the collection of taxes for Ptolemy, and for his negligence he is rebuked by Joseph. Joseph tells him that his failure to pay the taxes jeopardizes the nation, and he then prevails upon his uncle Onias to permit him to go as an ambassador to Ptolemy to persuade him to take a charitable view of the default in the taxes.²⁴ Joseph then collected sufficient means to undertake the embassy, and after making the necessary preparations for the journey he set out for Egypt. It so hap-

²³ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XII, 4, 2.

²⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XII, 4, 2.

pened that at this very time many of the principal men of the cities of Syria and Phoenicia were going to Egypt to bid for the taxes, for each year they were sold by the king to the prominent men of these cities. In this year the total amount that was offered by these men was eight thousand talents. This included Coelesyria, Phoenicia, Judaea, and Samaria. Joseph at this point stepped forward and promised to collect taxes twice as great, and the farming of the taxes was consequently granted to him. The king loaned to Joseph two thousand foot-soldiers to aid him in the collection of these taxes. Joseph returned to Syria and went first to Askelon, where the people refused to pay their share of the total tax. Joseph seized about twenty prominent citizens and slew them. When this news reached the other cities of Syria they paid their taxes to Joseph without delay, and at Skythopolis only did he meet with opposition, and here he repeated the drastic measures taken at Askelon. Not only did he send the stipulated amount to Ptolemy, but he made large profit for himself. He maintained this position for twenty-two years. We are told that late in his life, on the occasion of the birth of a son to Ptolemy, Joseph sent his son Hyrkanos as an envoy to the king, and that Hyrkanos gave very large gifts to Ptolemy and Cleopatra.²⁵ This reminds us clearly of the gifts sent by Toubias to Apollonios and Ptolemy.²⁶

²⁵ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XII, 4, 5.

²⁶ In the foregoing consideration of Toubias I am deeply indebted to the investigations carried on by Butler and Vincent, and before passing on to discuss the gifts sent to Egypt by Toubias, I wish to refer to several comments made on Toubias by other scholars. Willrich (*Archiv*, VII, pp. 61-64) finds it difficult to accept much of what Josephus tells us of the activities of Hyrkanos. He does, however, put some credence in the story of his going out into the country east of the Jordan, in the neighborhood of Heshbon. Deissmann (*Byz.-Neugr. Jahrb.*, 1921, p. 275) cites several passages in First and Second Macabees in which 'Toubianoi' are mentioned (*Mac.*, I, 5, 13 and 2, 12, 7). He feels that this name is not derived from a place name, but that it is the name which they derive from their eponymous ancestor. This practice, he says, is not uncommon in that section of the country. Prominent sheiks often give their names to their tribes. Gressmann (*Sitzungsber. der Berl. Ak.*, 1921, pp. 663-671) is of the opinion that the Tobias mentioned in Nehemiah was part Jew and part Persian. Moreover this Tobias was related by marriage to the high priest Eljasib in Jerusalem. While Nehemiah was absent Tobias held a prominent

Αίμος
μελαγχή
κλαστός
μελανός
σπαγώνει
καὶ φα-
δεξιᾶι

Of the two letters written by Toubias to Apollonios in which he mentions sending gifts one reads as follows:

Τουβίας Ἀπ[ολλωνίῳ χαίρειν]. εἰ σύ τε ἔρρωσαι καὶ τὰ σὰ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπά σο[ι κατὰ νοῦν ἐστιν, πο]λλὴ χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὑγίανον, σοῦ διὰ π[αντὸς μνείαν ποι]ούμενος, ὡσπερ δίκαιον ἦν. ἀπέσταλκά σοι ἄγοντα Αἰνέ[αν εὐνοῦχον ἐ]να καὶ παιδά[ρια . . .] τικά τε καὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν τέσσαρα, ὃν [ἐστιν] ἀπερίτμητα δύο. ὑπογράφαμεν δέ σοι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας [αὐτῶν π[αίδαρ]ίων ἵνα εἰδῆσι.

ἔρρωσο. Λκθ, Ξανδικοῦ ι.

Ἀλμός ὡς Λι	Ατικος ὡς Λη	Αυδομος ὡς Λι	Οκαιμος ὡς Λξ
μελαγχρῆς	μελέχρους	μελανόφθαλμος	τρογγυλοπρόσωπος
κλαστόθριξ	κλαστόθριξ	κλαστόθριξ	ἔσσιμος γλαυκὸς
μελανόφθαλμος	ὑπόσιμος ἡσυχῆς	ἔσσιμος πρόστομος	πυρράκης τετανὸς
σιαγόνες μείζους	μελανόφθαλμος	οὐλὴ παρ' ὄφρῳ δεξιὰν	οὐλὴ ἐμ μετώπῳ
καὶ φακοὶ ἐπὶ σιαγόνι	οὐλὴ ὑπ' ὄφθαλμὸν	περιτετμημένος.	ὑπέρ ὄφρῳ δεξιὰν
δεξιὰν ἀπερίτμητος.	δεξιὸν ἀπερίτμητος.		περιτετμημένος.

Verso:

Τουβίας περὶ εὐνούχου
καὶ παιδαρίων δ τῶν
ἀπεσταλμένων αὐτῷ.

Λκθ, Ἀρτεμισίου ις, ἐν Ἀλεξ. ²⁷

Ἀ[πολλωνίῳ].

position in the temple treasury, but Nehemiah on his return ejected him from this place. When he was ejected Tobias appears to have erected a temple of his own in the land of Ammon to be a sort of rival to the temple in Jerusalem. About two hundred years later comes the Toubias of the Zenon Papyri. He is also the brother-in-law of the high priest, the high priest's name being Onias. Gressmann dates Toubias about 266, Joseph about 236, and Hyrkanos about 206. Joseph had much the same relations with Ptolemy III as Toubias had with Ptolemy II. He sent him rare animals. When he came back to collect taxes he was supported by two thousand soldiers from Egypt. Arion is his correspondent in Alexandria just as Apollonios is for Toubias.

²⁷ Edgar 59076. I translate it thus: "Toubias to Apollonios greeting. If you are well and everything of yours is to your mind, there is much thankfulness to the gods. I myself have been well and have kept in constant memory of you, as was right. I have sent to you Aineas with one eunuch and four young slaves . . . (?) . and of the upper class, of whom two are circumcised. We have added below for you likenesses (descriptions) of the slaves, so that you may know.

Goodbye. Year 29, of Xandikos the 10th day.

It is interesting to notice the respectful manner in which Toubias addresses Apollonios, which is in sharp contrast with his abrupt manner of address in another letter which Apollonios received from him on the same day. This second letter reads as follows:

Τουβίας Ἀπολλωνίῳ χαίρειν. καθάπερ μοι ἔγραψας ἀποστεῖλα[ι]
] μηνί, ἀπέσταλκα τοῦ Ξανδικ[οῦ]
τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν
τῇ δεκάτῃ[ηι ἄγοντα Αἰνέαν] ἵππους δύο, κύνας [ε]ξ, ἡμιονά[γριον]
ἔξ ὅνου ἔν, ὑποζύγια [Α]ραβικὰ λευκὰ δύο, πώ[λους] ἔξ ἡμιονα-
γ[ρίον δύο,] πῶλον ἔξ ὄναγρίου ἔνα· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν τιθασά. ἀπέσταλκα
δέ [σοι] καὶ τὴν ἐπι[σ]τολὴν τὴν γραφεῖσαν παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἔνει[ων] τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁδοίως δὲ καὶ τάντιγραφα αὐτῆς ὅπως εἰδῆς.

ἔρρωστο, Λκθ. Ξανδικοῦ ι.

Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ χαίρειν Τουβίας. ἀπέσταλκά σοι ἵππο[υς δύο,]
κύνας ἔξ, ἡμιονάγριον ἔξ ὅνου ἔν, ὑποζύγια [Αρ]αβικὰ λευκὰ [δύο,]
πῶλους ἔξ ἡμιοναγρίου δύο, πῶλον ἔξ ὄναγρίου ἔνα.

εὐτύχει.

Verso:

Τουβίας τῶν ἀπέσταλμένων
τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν
βασιλέα ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον.
Λκθ, Ἀρτεμισίου ις, ἐν Ἀλεξαν. ²⁸

Haimos about ten years old, complexion dark, hair curly, eyes black, jaws prominent, and moles on the right jaw, uncircumcised. Atikos about eight years old, complexion of honey, hair curly, nose slightly flat, eyes black, mole (possibly scar) under the right eye, uncircumcised. Audomos about ten years old, eyes black, hair curly, flattish nose, protruding lips (Edgar), mole (possibly scar) beside the right brow, circumcised. Okaimos about seven years old, face round, flattish nose, eyes gray, hair red and smooth, mole (possibly scar) on forehead above right brow, circumcised." The verso reads thus: "Toubias to Apollonios about the eunuch and four young slaves sent to him. The year 29, of Artemisios the 16th day in Alexandria. To Apollonios."

²⁸ Edgar 59075. I translate it thus: "Toubias to Apollonios greeting. As you wrote to me to send (?) in the month, I have sent to you on the tenth of Xandikos Aineas one of our staff taking two horses, six dogs, one mule bred from an ass, two white Arabian beasts of burden (probably donkeys), two colts of a half-onager, and one colt of an onager; these are domesticated. And I have sent to you the letter

There are several possible explanations for the difference in the form of address used to Apollonios in these two letters. One is that as both letters were written on the same day, it seemed to Toubias to be unnecessary to use the formal address in the second letter. Another, and probably a better, explanation may be that the letter about the animals which Toubias is sending to Ptolemy is a matter of business and in response to a letter written by Apollonios on this subject to Toubias. The fact that Apollonios has written to Toubias on this subject shows that the animals are not given to Ptolemy spontaneously on the part of Toubias, but I incline to think that they were a gift none the less. Probably both Ptolemy and Apollonios were willing to make a suitable payment for the animals, but it is hardly likely that Toubias as the governor of Ammanitis would have allowed Ptolemy to buy these unusual animals from him. On hearing that the king wished to secure some of the rare cross-breeds of Palestine and Arabia, Toubias would eagerly court the favor of the king by sending him these animals as a gift. In point of fact, in the letter itself Toubias tells Apollonios that the animals are gifts (*ξένια*). An entertaining passage in Diodorus illustrates the king's fondness for strange animals: ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος Πτολεμαῖος, περὶ τε τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων κυνηγίαν φιλοτιμηθείς, καὶ τοῖς τὰς παραδόξους θύρας τῶν ἀλκιμωτάτων ζών ποιουμένοις μεγάλας ἀπονέμων δωρεάς, πολλὰ δὲ πάντι χρήματα δαπανήσας εἰς ταῦτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐλέφαντάς τε συχνοὺς πολεμιστὰς περιεποίησατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζών ἀθεωρήτους καὶ παραδόξους φύσεις ἐποίησεν εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι. ²⁹

written by us concerning the gifts to the king, and likewise the copy of it so that you might know.

Goodbye. Year 29, of Xandikos the 10th day.

To king Ptolemy greeting Toubias. I have sent to you two horses, six dogs, one mule bred from an ass, two white Arabian beasts of burden, two colts of a half-onager and one colt of an onager. Prosper." The verso reads thus: "Toubias about the things sent to the king and the copy of the letter sent to the king. Year 29, of Artemisios the 16th day, in Alexandria. To Apollonios."

²⁹ Diodorus, 3, 36. I translate the passage thus: "For the second Ptolemy being very eager about the hunting of elephants and giving large gifts to those taking part in the strange huntings of the most powerful beasts, spent much money on this enthusiasm of his and he

But the real reason that Ptolemy was interested in these animals was probably that he thought that the importation of such animals might be useful in the development of his cavalry, which was an important branch of his army.³⁰

The letter to Apollonios concerning the eunuch and the four young slaves is couched in much more formal language than the letter about the animals. It does not appear that the eunuch and the slaves are being sent in answer to a letter on the subject from Apollonios. Rather it would seem that Toubias at the time of sending the animals to Ptolemy thought that it would be a gracious act on his part to send an additional gift to Apollonios. He was already perhaps acquainted with Apollonios' fondness for slaves, and especially young ones, as Zenon on his mission two years before had bought a young slave from him, or rather from Nikanor, one of his men, and Toubias may have known that Sphragis was destined for Apollonios. Toubias knew the importance of Apollonios and therefore deemed it prudent to court his favor by this sumptuous gift. This seems to be the most natural interpretation of the letter, but another explanation is possible. It may be that the slaves were not a gift from Toubias, but that Apollonios had purchased them and that the descriptions of them sent ahead by Toubias were to show his keen desire that they should prove satisfactory. Toubias' anxiety might not have been so great had the slaves been a free gift. However, the real purpose of the descriptions was probably for identification, and to prevent inferior slaves being given to Apollonios in the place of those intended for him by Toubias. Both this letter and the letter about the animals took thirty-six days to reach Apollonios.

We may now with profit summarize our knowledge of Toubias. He was a member of a family prominent in the history of Ammon at least from the time of Nehemiah. His ancestor was very possibly the eponymous hero of a tribe or a group of tribes whose members were known as 'Toubianoi.' He had influential connections in Jerusalem, his brother-in-law Onias being the chief priest. In 265 B. C., when the people of Ammon acknowl-

secured posession of many war elephants, and caused many strange and unusual kinds of other animals to come to the knowledge of the Greeks."

³⁰ For the breeding of horses by Ptolemy and the strength of his cavalry, see 'A Large Estate,' pp. 167 and 168.

edged the sovereignty of Ptolemy Philadelphos, Toubias as being the most prominent man of the district was the logical person to administer it, and Ptolemy's choice fell upon him. In his new position as governor of Ammanitis in the employ of Ptolemy, Toubias probably deemed it prudent to construct a refuge for himself in case of a reversal in the fortunes of Ptolemy. The place that he chose for this fortress was Birta. He preferred not to build this stronghold at Philadelphia, the capital of the district, for reasons best known to himself. He may have been afraid that the erection of a fortress there would arouse too much curiosity as to his motives. Once established in a strong position Toubias courted the favor of Ptolemy and his *dioiketes* by generous gifts. Ptolemy, being interested in the success of Toubias' administration, sent out a considerable number of military settlers to assist him. Some, if not all, of these soldiers were mounted. We really know very little of the arrangements made in Syria for the bidding for taxes, but it is not improbable that Toubias exercised a general control over such affairs in Ammanitis. His support of Ptolemy seems to have been enthusiastic, which would only be true if his position was one of profit. Very probably he was able to control the tax collecting in a manner advantageous to his own purse. The presence of *klerouchoi* under his command must have rendered this comparatively easy for him.

The next document that I wish to consider is undated, but it clearly belongs to the period of Zenon's activity in Syria and Palestine, and very probably should be assigned to the year 27 of Ptolemy. It reads thus:

Column 1.

ὑπόμνημα Ζήνωνι
 { } παρὰ Ἡρακλεῶδου
 τοῦ συνωριστοῦ.
 περὶ ὧν ἀπηργασμένοι εἰσὶν
 Δριμύλος καὶ Διονύσιος
 παιδίσκην α{ . . }
 προσχρησάμενος αὐτῇ
 παρέδωκεν αὐτὴν τῷ
 ὅρυφύλακι συνσκενά-
 σαντες αὐτὴν εἰ τί πο-

Column 2.

καὶ Δριμύλος παιδίσ-
 κην ἡγόραζεν το.τ.
 ἐπ' ἐξοδίᾳ μὲγ γὰρ
 ἐκάστης ἡμέρας
 ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ὡ-
 φελοῦντο λαμπρῶς.
 καὶ τὰτα ποιοῦντες
 οὐχ εἴχοσαν τὸν
 νοῦν πρὸς τοῖς κτή-
 νεσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ ὁ μὲν

τε εἰχειν. αῦτηδέ ἔστιν
 ἐμ Πηγαῖς παρὰ τῷ ὁροφύλακι,
 ἀλλην ἐξήγοσαν ἐξ Ἀμμώνων.
 ἀπέδοντο αὐτὴν ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι
 καὶ ιερεα ἡδη τέταρτον
 εἰς Ἰόπην καταγήγοχεν
 καὶ εἰς Αἴρανα ἀπεδήμησεν
 σῶμα θηλυκὸν ἄγων
 καὶ ἔλαβεν τρυν.
 κάκειθεν ἀνακάμπτων
 συνεσκεάσατο τὸν ἡ[α]Να-
 βαταίους. βοῆς δὲ γενομένης
 ἀπάγεται εἰς φυλακὴν
 ἡμέρας ζ ἐμ πέδαις ὥν.

Δριμύλος ἐκάστης
 ἡμέρας τῇ ἐρωμέ-
 νηι αὐτοῦ ἐθερμαί-
 νετο <lacuna?> χαλκία δύο
 ὕδατος πέπρακεν
 δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄνον
 τὴν θήλειαν καὶ
 τὸν ἡ[ον]ἄγριον.
 καὶ τούτων μάρ-
 τυρες εἰσίν.
 περὶ δὲ τῶν πλεό-
 νων, ἔάμ με ἐπε-
 ρωτᾶις, εὐρήσεις
 πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλή-
 θειαν.³¹

This is a memorandum for Zenon written by a certain Herakleides, who styles himself 'coachman,' in which he complains of the negligence of Drimylos and Dionysios. These men have not kept strictly to the performance of their duty, and Herakleides has been greatly troubled by their insubordination. Their duty was to take care of horses, and possibly mules and

³¹ P. S. I. 406. Parts of this are unintelligible, but I translate it thus: (Col. 1.) "Memorandum to Zenon (date?) from Herakleides the coachman. Concerning the things which Drimylos and Dionysios have done, (the latter?) misusing a slave girl gave her to the frontier guard, (both of them) preparing her to make her look her best (literally, 'if she had anything'). And she is in Pegae with the frontier guard. Another they brought from the Ammonites. Her they sold in Ptolemais and the fourth (the word 'priest' makes no sense) he brought down to Joppa. And he went away to the Hauran taking a female slave with him and got 150 drachmae. And returning from there he won over the Nabataeans. And an outcry arising, he is led out to prison, being in fetters for seven days." (Col. 2.) "And Drimylos bought a slave girl for 300 drachmae. For each day they made a journey and profited splendidly. And doing this they did not have their mind upon the stock (horses and mules), but Drimylos each day warmed two bronze (jars) of water for his sweetheart. And he sold the female ass and the onager. And of these things there are witnesses. Concerning more of these things, if you ask me, you will find the whole truth."

other animals, but they have been more interested in the purchase, abuse, and sale of slave girls.³² They have carried on their irregular practices in the land of Ammon, at Pegae, which I cannot identify, at Ptolemais, which is presumably the important city on the coast, at Joppa, in the Hauran, and among the Nabataeans. There is no definite evidence that Herakleides was present with them in all of these places, but it is probable that he was in at least most of them, since Drimylos and Dionysios would scarcely have dared so far to depart from their line of duty as to go independently to these widely separated places. Moreover Herakleides would probably have been ignorant of their trade in slaves, had he not been on the spot to witness it. Herakleides is explicit in saying that the principal job of these men was to look after the stock. This statement taken together with the fact that Herakleides calls himself 'coachman' points to the conclusion that he was charged with the task of collecting horses, donkeys, and onagers. The activity of Herakleides covers a long period and a wide territory. A coachman would not be employed on such a long mission apart from his master unless that mission was one for which he was especially qualified. There is no business in which a coachman, who would also naturally be something of a horse fancier, would be more expert than in the purchase of horses. We see from Herakleides' words that slave dealing was not the proper business of the party, and the only legitimate business which the document suggests is the purchase of horses. One of the districts which the party visits is the land of Ammon, and in this connection we should bear in mind Toubias' gift of horses and unusual cross-breeds to Ptolemy. The prairie land of Ammanitis was evidently famous as the breeding place of fine stock. Perhaps Herakleides secured most of his horses here, then travelled to the coast at Ptolemais, and there shipped them to Joppa for transshipment to Egypt. Herakleides was evidently in the habit of visiting Ptolemais, if we may judge from the last three lines of a document dealing with the supplies of bedding used by Zenon's staff in Syria and Asia Minor. The lines come shortly after the mention of Ptolemais and read thus:

³² 'A Large Estate,' pp. 25 f. Cf. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VI, 393, 449.

καὶ εἰὴν Ἡρακλεῖδης ἐνταῦθα
ἔκεῖνος ἄν σοι ἀνήγγειλεν
περὶ τῶν περιστρωμάτων.³³

Herakleides is mentioned again as being in Ptolemais in an account of the bran to be used by mules, camels, and donkeys in Palestine in the autumn of a certain year, perhaps 259 B. C.³⁴

We have many accounts of supplies secured and used by parties in their travels in Syria, and Zenon himself probably went on some of these journeys, which must in part have been made in the year 27 of Philadelphos. A particularly interesting example of this type of document contains a list of the towns in which flour was obtained by a party travelling through the country.³⁵ The identification of these towns is in several cases easy, but there is some doubt about the location of others. The first place in which grain is secured is Straton's Tower, which is the old name for Caesarea on the coast. Jerusalem is mentioned next, and then Jericho. After that the party goes to Abella. This town is about twelve miles east of Gadara, according to Eusebius.³⁶ The modern town on this site is called Tell-Abil. Grain is next obtained at Σουραβιτ...οις. This old name seems to be preserved in Arabic Oumm es-Sourab, which is sixty kilometers southeast of Tell-Abil and twenty-two kilometers southwest of Bosra. The party then went to Λακάσοις. This may be the modern El-Kisoueh, twenty kilometers south of Damascus, but the identification is by no means sure. Thence the party proceeded to Νόη. This place is in the Hauran, and the Itinerarium Antoninum puts it between Aere and Capitolis. The next town visited was Ειτοῦ, which may be identified with Heit in the Hauran, about twenty-two kilometers south of the

³³ P. S. I. 616, lines 38-40. I translate them thus: "And if Herakleides were there, he would inform you about the coverings." The places mentioned in this document are: Kaunos, Miletos, Halikarnassos, Alexandria, Gaza, Rabbath-Ammon, and Ptolemais, which shows how wide were the interests of Zenon.

³⁴ Edgar 59008 line 16. In line 25 a journey to the Hauran is referred to. It may have been on this very journey that Herakleides had trouble with Drimylos and Dionysios.

³⁵ Edgar 59004. For other accounts belonging to the Palestinian period of Zenon's activity see Edgar 59005, 59006, 59007, 59008, 59009, 59010.

³⁶ Eusebius, Onomasticon, see under Ἀβελά.

town last mentioned, in the midst of fertile country. The ninth town on the list is Bethanath in Upper Galilee. Then the party went to *Κνδίσωι*, or Kedesh, also in upper Galilee, and finally came out on the coast at Ptolemais.³⁷ This account covers a period of about four months, and is valuable as showing how widely the interests of Apollonios were scattered.

One other supply account of this period is of especial interest. It gives a list of the persons to whom pickled fish have been given out or sold from the store, somewhere in Syria or Palestine.³⁸ Among those who have received pickled fish are an *ἀκροφύλαξ*, an *ἀρχυπηρέτης*, a *φυλακάρχης*, a *δικαστής*, and a *γραμματεύς*. These men were probably members of a military garrison, but we do not know where this garrison was stationed. These men received a considerable quantity of the pickled fish, but still more is given to a certain cook. This cook may have been connected with the garrison, but more probably he was the cook of Zenon's party, who were stopping for a time in the garrisoned town. We do not know whether Zenon was present or not, because the Zenon mentioned in line 42 of the account is clearly not the Zenon with whom we are concerned. But Herakleides, presumably the coachman, is mentioned. The harbor of Gaza is mentioned in line 64, so that it is not improbable that the garrison was stationed there or in that vicinity. In the latter part of the document we seem to have a reference to a journey into Idumea, for supplies are given out in Marisa. We shall hear of this town again as the place at which Zenon bought some slaves from a man named Zaidelos. Zenon apparently passed through Idumea on his return to Egypt; so it is reasonable to suppose that the pickled fish account concerns the last part of Zenon's sojourn in Syria and Palestine. What interest had Zenon in distributing supplies to the garrison of a provincial town? The answer should probably be that the garrison was comprised of colonists sent out by Ptolemy, and it may be that one of Zenon's commissions from Apollonios was to distribute

³⁷ For a discussion of the route taken and the places visited see Abel, *Revue biblique*, 1924, pp. 566-574, and Edgar's commentary on this document.

³⁸ Edgar 59006. Edgar's introduction to this document contains some valuable comments.

certain necessities to the military forces of Ptolemy stationed in Palestine and Colesyria.

An interesting letter of the year 27 sheds further light upon Zenon's activity during that year in Palestine. It reads as follows:

[Αλέξαν] δρος Ὀρύαι χαιρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὸ παρὰ σ[οῦ ἐ] πιστόλι-
[ον],
[ἐν ᾧ ν] πέγρ[α]ψας μοι τὴν τε παρὰ Ζήνωνος πρὸς Ἰεδδοῦν γε-
γρ[αμμένην],
[ὅπως ἄλι], ἐὰμ μὴ ἀποδιδῶ τάργ[υ]ριον Στράτωνι τῷ παρὰ¹
Ζήνωνος [πα]-
[ραγενο] μένωι, ἐνέχυρα αὐτοῦ π[αραδ]εξωμεν αὐτῷ. ἐγὼ μὲν [ο] νῦν
[ἄρρωστ]ος ἐτύγχανον ἐ[χ] φαρμακείας ὥν, συναπέστειλα [δὲ
Στ]ράτωνι
[παρ' ἡ]μῶν νεανίσκον καὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἔγρ[α]ψα πρὸς Ἰεδδοῦν.
παραγενόμενοι
[οὐν εἰπ]όν μοι μηθένα λόγον πεποιῆσθαι τῷ ἐπιστο[λίῳ μον],
αὐτοῖς δὲ
[χεῖρας] προσενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐγβαλ[εῖ]ν ἐκ τῆς κώμης. γέγραφα οὖν σοι,
ἔρρωσο. Λκζ, Περιτίου ἐμβολίμου κ.

Verso: Ὀρύαι.³⁹

Jeddous has in some way become indebted to Zenon. We are not told whether the money is owed to Zenon on a private account or whether it is owed to him as the official agent of Apollonios, but I incline to the latter view for two reasons. In the first place it would perhaps be strange for so many persons to help Zenon in the collection of a private debt, and in the second place a soldier (*νεανίσκος*) was sent to enforce payment from

³⁹ Edgar 59018. I translate it thus: "Alexander to Oryas greeting. I received the letter from you in which you enclosed for me the letter written from Zenon to Jeddous, that, if he should not give back the money to Stratton, who came from Zenon, we should hand over to him (Stratton) securities taken from him (Jeddous). I therefore happening to be weak as the result of taking a purge, sent a young man (presumably a soldier) of mine with Stratton and I wrote a letter to Jeddous. On their return they said that he took no account of my letter and laid violent hands upon them and threw them out of the village. Therefore I have written to you. Goodbye. Year 27, of Peritios intercalary the 20th day." Verso: "To Oryas."

Jeddous, and warning was given to him that securities would be seized in default of payment. Edgar, however, believes that the transaction was a private one,⁴⁰ and Vincent, while he is of the opinion that the business was public, limits the nature of this business more narrowly than is warranted by the evidence. For he maintains that Zenon is trying to collect taxes that are overdue.⁴¹ We may suspect that a general inspection and supervision of the collection of taxes was among the duties of Zenon in his Syrian and Palestinian travels, but we have no direct evidence to support such a belief. All that we can definitely say is that Jeddous owed money to Zenon. Jeddous was probably a native sheik of Palestine, and while passing through the territory of his tribe Zenon may have rendered him some service for which he had never been repaid.

Zenon apparently foresaw that the recovery of the money from Jeddous would be difficult. He sent his agent Straton on this errand and also wrote to Oryas, probably a district official, for assistance. Straton was in all likelihood the bearer of this letter. Oryas referred the matter to a subordinate of his named Alexandros, sending Straton to him with a copy of Zenon's letter. Alexandros did not help Straton in person, excusing himself on the ground of temporary indisposition, but his letter to Oryas implies that but for this physical disability he would have accompanied Straton to Jeddous, and this would seem to show that he was a rather lowly official, as otherwise he would naturally delegate to a subordinate this somewhat sordid dunning of Jeddous. However, Alexandros despatched a soldier with Straton to enforce payment from Jeddous. When Straton and the soldier reached Jeddous, he paid no attention to a letter which Alexandros sent to him with Straton. Moreover he seized Straton and the soldier and summarily threw them out of the village. It is interesting to see how great the influence of Zenon was with these officials in Palestine. The document also shows us how extended the business connections of Zenon were.

Let us now consider the drafts of five letters written by Zenon after he had returned to Egypt from Palestine. These drafts were written by Zenon on the verso of an oil account. As the

⁴⁰ Edgar 59018, introduction.

⁴¹ Vincent, *Revue biblique*, 1920, pp. 168, 169.

text of these letters is rather long and not difficult to read, I shall not transcribe the Greek text, but simply give my own translation, which is as follows:

“To Pasicles. If you are well, it is well. I am well myself. Krotos reported to me that you wrote to him that the runaway slaves were reported to be with Kollochoutos and his brother Zaidelos, and that they demanded, as the price for which they would bring them back, one hundred drachmae. You would do well in showing all your energy in securing them and giving them to Straton, who is the bearer of this letter. For if you do this, you will give me satisfaction. If you incur any expense, I shall make it good. A case for alabaster ornaments has been bought for you. If you don’t want it, write a letter, and the purchaser will sell it. And if you have need of anything from the country, write to me; for I shall act in a friendly fashion. Goodbye.”

“To Epikrates. When I was staying in Marisa I bought some of the slaves of Zaidelos, and of these three, two of whom were brothers, ran away as I was entering Egypt, whose names and descriptions I have enclosed for you. And it has been reported to me that these slaves are with Kollochoutos. You would do well in showing all your energy in securing them and in handing them over to Straton. If you make any payment to those bringing . . . etc.”

“To Peisistratos. If you are well, it is well. I am well myself. Krotos has informed me that Pasikles has written to him that the runaway slaves which I bought from Zaidelos in Marisa have been reported. I have written therefore ordering him to show all possible care in securing them and in handing them over to Straton, who is bringing the letter to you. Therefore you would do well in reminding him and also in showing energy that the slaves may not escape. You will please me by writing if you need anything from the country. For I shall treat you in a friendly fashion. Goodbye.”

“To Epainetos. Some slaves of mine happen to have run away from me, and they are reported to be in Idumea, and I have sent Straton for this purpose. You would do well in tell-

ing your son not to interfere with him in the performance of his task, in order that he may secure the slaves."

"To Ammon. The same. You would do well in writing to Dorotheos and Demainetos, that he be not interfered with in the performance of his task." ⁴²

At the end of the account of pickled fish given out in Palestine there was a reference to a journey to Marisa, and these five letters show us what Zenon did while there. He bought some slaves from a certain Zaidelos, who was probably a well-known dealer in slaves. Thereafter Zenon passed through Idumea to the frontier of Egypt. When he had arrived at this point, three of his newly purchased slaves ran away. After his return to Alexandria Zenon was informed by a friend or agent named Krotos that he had received a letter from Pasikles saying that the slaves were reported to be with Kollochoutos and his brother Zaidelos, who were demanding one hundred drachmae as the price for returning them. Zenon at once set about recovering the slaves. He wrote first to Pasikles, asking him to have the slaves arrested and to hand them over to Straton, who is the bearer of the letter. A second letter to the same effect was addressed to Epikrates. Zenon next sent word to Peisistratos to help also, and in particular to remind Pasikles of his duty. The last two letters were addressed to Epainetos and Ammon, who were requested to see that Straton was not interfered with in his work.

Of the persons mentioned in these letters the only ones about whom we have information in other documents are Straton and Krotos. In Straton we recognize the personal agent whom Zenon sent to recover a debt from Jeddous; and Krotos, who informs Zenon that he has received news of the lost slaves from Pasikles, is a commercial agent of Zenon or Apollonios, probably stationed on the Syrian coast. For a certain Herakleitos in a letter to Zenon written in the year 29 says that Krotos is at Joppa and eager to export certain goods.⁴³ Again his name appears in connection with the *Γαζαίων λιμήν*,⁴⁴ which is certainly not far from Gaza. And, finally, we have a letter from Krotos himself to Zenon about a cargo of oil that has been shipped from

⁴² Edgar 59015 verso.

⁴³ Edgar 59093.

⁴⁴ P. S. I. 863g.

Syria.⁴⁵ Pasikles, however, is mentioned only in the document under consideration. He appears to have been an agent of Zenon regularly stationed at Marisa or in that vicinity.⁴⁶ Zenon addressed him very cordially, as he was naturally grateful to him for reporting the whereabouts of the lost slaves. Zenon had to explain his purchase of slaves and their subsequent loss to Epikrates, who was probably an agent of Zenon at that time known to be in or near Marisa, but who had had no connection with the purchase of the slaves from Zaidelos. Zenon urged Peisistratos to remind Pasikles of his duty. Thus it would seem that Peisistratos was a more trusted agent. Epainetos and Ammon also were probably agents of Zenon operating in Idumea. The letters to Epainetos and Ammon show either that Straton was likely to be interfered with in his duties by certain lowly officials, or else that Zenon was aware of the presence in Idumea of persons hostile to his interests. I incline rather to the former opinion because one of the persons mentioned as likely to interfere with Straton was the son of Epainetos to whom Zenon writes.

The last two documents which I shall attempt to interpret do not deal directly with Zenon's activity during his sojourn in Syrian lands, but they show that he continued his interests there after his departure and inform us about what some of those interests were. First there is a letter from Krotos to Zenon written in the year 29 in which he complains of the negligence of a certain Alexis in connection with the shipment of some oil. The letter reads as follows:

Κρότος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. γίνωσκε "Αλεξίν ούθεν πεποιηκότα τὸ κα[τὰ] τὴν παιδίσκην, ἣν ἐνεχυράσαμεν παρὰ τῶν ἐπιπλευσάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐλα[ίου], πρὸς τὸ κατακριθὲν αὐτῶν, οὔτε γὰρ τάργυριον ἡμῖν ἀποδιδωσιν οὔτε τὴ[ν] παιδίσκην. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θήρωνα τὸν ἐκ τῆς κυβαίας ναύτην ἔχ[ει], προήκατό τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, καὶ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐνφανῆ[σ].

ἔρρωσο. Λκθ, Ξανδικοῦ ε.

Verso:

[Κρότος] περὶ παιδίσκης ἡς ἡνε-
[χύρασ]εν τῶν ἐπιπλευσάντων

Ζήνωνι.

⁴⁵ Edgar 59077.

⁴⁶ F. M. Abel, *Revue biblique*, 1924, pp. 566-574, has an article on this

[ἐπὶ τῷ] ὑ ἐλαίου, καὶ Θήρων τοῦ
[ἐκ τῆς] κυβαῖς. Λκθ, Δαισίου

[ἐν] Ἀλεξανδρ. ⁴⁷

Krotos wished to prevent certain persons from sailing with a cargo of oil without making certain payment, and as security he claimed a slave girl. He writes that the ship has sailed and that Alexis has given him neither the money nor the slave. Who was Alexis? Edgar believes that he was the exporter of the oil. This would mean that he had agreed to give to Krotos the value of the cargo or a certain percentage of the value, and had offered a slave girl as security. But the use of the verb ἔνεχυράζω in the aorist is not wholly consistent with this interpretation. To me it seems more probable that Alexis was a subordinate of Krotos, who, acting for Krotos, had taken from the oil merchants a slave girl as security that they would make proper payment. But the ship sailed, and Alexis kept either the money or the slave instead of giving them to his superior Krotos. The escape of the sailor Theron is apparently of secondary importance, but Krotos mentions it to Zenon as further evidence of the negligence of Alexis, which he would scarcely do if Alexis were an independent oil merchant, and not an agent of his. Alexis was either in league with the oil merchants for their mutual profit or else he was trying to cheat Krotos to his own advantage alone.⁴⁸

The letter of Krotos should be considered in connection with the letters from Apollonios to Apollodotos and Hikesios which were studied at the beginning of this paper. For all the letters

inscription in which he shows that there was a colony of Macedonians at Marisa. The coins found on this site are of Philadelphos, not earlier.

⁴⁷ Edgar 59077. I translate the letter thus: "Krotos to Zenon greeting. Know that Alexis has done nothing concerning the slave girl, whom we took as security from those sailing in charge of the oil, in reference to the judgment on them, for he gives us neither the money nor the slave girl. And the situation is the same in regard to Theron, the sailor from the κυβαῖς. For he has let him go from the prison, and he has completely disappeared. Goodbye. Year 29, of Xandikos the 5th day." Verso: "Krotos concerning the slave girl whom he took as security from those sailing in charge of the oil, and concerning Theron from the κυβαῖς. Year 29 of Daisios the (.) day, in Alexandria. To Zenon."

⁴⁸ Vincent, *Revue biblique*, 1920, p. 176, thinks that Alexis was a local magistrate.

indicate the desire of Apollonios and Zenon to control exports from Syria. Apollonios' letters restricted the export of grain, and the letter of Krotos shows that the export of oil from Syria was placed under similar control. Oil was a state monopoly in Egypt, and no one was permitted to import foreign oil for sale. Syrian and foreign oil could be imported for private use, but a 25 per cent. tax was levied upon it either at Pelusium or at Alexandria. The Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphos distinguish between Syrian and foreign oil, the foreign oil being olive oil, and the Syrian, sesame.⁴⁹ The restrictions placed upon the importation of oil into Egypt cause one to speculate as to whether the business of Krotos and Zenon was altogether reputable. Is the oil mentioned in Krotos' letter being exported to Egypt, and if so, is it for sale or for private use? To these questions no sure answer can be given.

Let us now turn to a letter from Herakleitos to Zenon which shows that a similar restriction was put upon the export of slaves from Syria. This letter,⁵⁰ which is rather long and deals with a number of subjects, may be translated thus:

“Herakleitos to Zenon greeting. If you are well and your other affairs are as they should be, it would be as I wish. I am well myself, and keep you constantly in mind at all times. About the pony, I asked Nikanor to exchange it for me. But since he did not consent, I was compelled to buy a horse for 800 drachmae, and to brand it. The horse from you has been destroyed (i. e., died) and (from this point on I use the translation of Edgar) Apollophanes has also arrived in Syria and on our expedition to Massyas we have met him in Sidon and told him that Krotos is waiting in Joppa for an opportunity of exporting . . . and mattresses. He replied that he could not sail there at present, for he had been ordered by Dionysodoros to bring his baggage to Herakleia. He informed us too that those at home were all well. And Menekles of Tyre, he said, had brought some slaves and merchandise from Gaza to Tyre and landed them in Tyre for transshipment without notifying the Customs officers and without having a permit to export the

⁴⁹ Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphos, edited by B. P. Grenfell, Oxford, 1896, Column 52, and note on this column.

⁵⁰ Edgar 59093.

slaves, and on learning this they had taken them from him. So Apollophanes coming to the aid of Menekles declared that the slaves and the merchandise were yours, and Menekles was obliged to back him up (this is the end of Edgar's part of the translation). I have written to you therefore that you may order Apollophanes not to declare anything in your name except if it seems useful to you. Know that I suffered many ills and have with difficulty been enrolled in the month Daisios, of the year 29. For Nikanor has treated me as he would an enemy. You would do well in being careful of our health. Goodbye." Verso: "of Herakleitos. To Zenon."

For us the principal interest of this letter lies in the information which it gives about the regulations governing the export of slaves from Syria. But Herakleitos, the writer, had other interests more closely at heart. He complained to Zenon that Nikanor had refused to give him a horse in exchange for a pony, and that he had treated him as he would an enemy. Who was Herakleitos, and who was Nikanor, and how were they related to each other and to Zenon? Nikanor is probably to be identified with Nikanor, the author of a letter to Zenon and Kriton in which he says that he is sending a cargo of wine, venison, and other food stuffs to Memphis for Apollonios. In this same letter he mentions wines sent from Apollonios' estate at Bethanath by Melas.⁵¹ Nikanor was either the manager of another estate of Apollonios or else an official very anxious to court his favor. His name appears in a letter from Herakleitos to Zoilos of the year 28, in which he writes that Nikanor has promised that he shall not be without a horse.⁵² In the letter Herakleitos says that he, Herakleitos, has recently been in Ptolemais, which gives us an idea of the region in which Nikanor was stationed. But Herakleitos does not seem to have been stationed in one place, for he appears both in Ptolemais and in Sidon and says that he had planned a journey to Massyas. This suggests that his commission was of a general nature. It appears that Nikanor was his superior in the service of Apollonios, but we cannot be sure of it. Near the end of his letter to Zenon Herakleitos says that with great difficulty in the year 29 he finally received a certain appointment. Unfortunately, we have no means of judg-

⁵¹ P. S. I. 594.

⁵² P. S. I. 495.

ing what this appointment was, but it would seem that Nikanor tried to block his way.⁵³

Herakleitos, after his complaint about Nikanor in the matter of the horse, informs Zenon that Apollophanes has arrived in Syria, and that he has met him in Sidon. Herakleitos immediately told Apollophanes that Krotos was at Joppa waiting for an opportunity to export some goods. Apollophanes replied that he could not go to Joppa at the moment, for he was under orders from Dionysodoros to sail to Herakleia. We cannot tell whether Apollophanes was under official orders from Dionysodoros or whether it was a private matter of business, because we have insufficient knowledge of Dionysodoros and Apollophanes.⁵⁴ Apollophanes then told Herakleitos that certain slaves and merchandise had been taken by the Customs officials at Tyre from a certain Menekles, who had landed them there from Gaza for transshipment without notifying the Customs officials or securing a permit to export the slaves. Apollophanes immediately declared that the slaves and merchandise belonged to Zenon, in this way evidently recovering them. Menekles supported Apollophanes in this declaration. Krotos was impressed with the danger of such unauthorized declarations and reported the whole affair to Zenon. We see that the export of slaves was placed under certain restrictions, and it may be that Zenon by an official order from Apollonios was freed from these restrictions. But it is more probable, if we may judge from Krotos' anxiety that there shall be no more declarations in Zenon's name, that Apollophanes and Menekles used Zenon's name without due authority. Apollophanes knew that the Customs officials were aware of Zenon's responsible position in the court of Apollonios and that they would respect a declaration made in his name.

⁵³ Nikanor and Herakleitos are probably not to be identified with the men of those names who appear in the contract for the sale of Sphragis (Edgar 59003). These men are comparatively obscure, and it is not likely that the Nikanor who belonged to the retinue of Toubias would be sending gifts directly to Apollonios or be in a position to block the advance of an agent of Apollonios.

⁵⁴ Dionysodoros seems to have no connection with Dionysodoros the ἐγλογιστής of Edgar 59263, and Vincent's conjecture (*Revue biblique*, 1920, p. 181) that Apollophanes was the governor of the Sidonian colony at Maresa is unconvincing. Apollophanes may have been in the service of Kriton, the στολάρχης; cf. Edgar 59025.

But Krotos feared that such an unauthorized declaration might harm Zenon's high standing in Apollonios' service. The document shows how great were the advantages to be derived from holding a high position in the service of Apollonios.⁵⁵

CONCLUSIONS

In this article I have not attempted to cite all the papyri of the Zenon collection which concern Syria and Palestine, but only those which materially contribute to our knowledge of Zenon's activity there during the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh years of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos, and which testify to his continued interest in the affairs of these lands after his return to Egypt. Among the documents which we have considered are letters addressed to Zenon and letters from other members of the court of Apollonios employed in Syria to each other, and also records of supplies secured and expended by parties traveling in Syria and Palestine. All these letters and records were handed over to Zenon because he was a man fully conversant with the affairs of Apollonios in those provinces as a result of his extended travels.

One of the first impressions that we get from a study of these documents is that Zenon had the foremost position in the administration of Apollonios' business enterprises in Syrian lands. One proof of this is that Apollonios sometimes gave instructions to other agents through Zenon and told Zenon where to place certain men, and a second is that the agents of Apollonios in Syria were in the habit of referring their difficulties and administrative problems to Zenon for settlement. For example, Apollonios apparently gave his orders to Apollodotos and Hikesios about the regulations governing the export of grain through Zenon, and it was he who assigned to Nikomachos and Zoilos their positions on a coasting vessel, and finally it was to Zenon that Krotos applied for help when he was embarrassed by the hostility of Nikanor. These illustrations show that Zenon's position was a high one, and also that his duties were of a general nature, which makes it difficult for us to discover what the pri-

⁵⁵ For another reference to the export or import of slaves see P. S. I. 648, a very fragmentary letter to Zenon containing the phrase *τὰ σωμάτια ἀπὸ Συρίας*.

mary object of his mission to Syria was. Did Apollonios send him to supervise and control the export of grain, to purchase slaves, to secure horses, to investigate the system of taxation, or to supervise the Ptolemaic military establishment in Syria and Palestine, or were all these motives combined? While we cannot give a definite answer to this question, we may safely assume that some, at least, of these purposes must have been present in the mind of Apollonios when he despatched Zenon to Syria. Zenon probably did not limit himself to carrying out the definite commissions of Apollonios, but followed the lines suggested to him by the circumstances by which he found himself surrounded.

On his arrival in Syria Zenon gave to Apollodotos and Hikesios their instructions from Apollonios to demand payment or at least the security for future payment from merchants exporting grain. At the same time Apollonios doubtless told Zenon to see that his orders were carried out. Perhaps he instructed Zenon to see that no grain from his estates in Palestine was taken overland for sale in other parts of Syria and Palestine without a proper record. Apollonios naturally feared that his tenants might try to take advantage of his great distance from them by selling his grain for their own profit. Of course this statement is conjectural and is based on an assumption, however reasonable, that the grain mentioned in his letters to Hikesios and Apollodotos was the property of Apollonios. About this time Zenon may have placed Nikomachos and Zoilos on a vessel engaged in commerce on the Syrian coast, but this surely cannot have been a typical commission of Apollonios to Zenon, for Apollonios would naturally conduct such business through Kriton, the commander of his commercial fleet.⁵⁶

Zenon received his instructions for Nikomachos and Zoilos at the close of the year 260 B. C., and the next definitely dated document that we have is the contract for the sale of Sphragis by Nikanor to Zenon. This sale took place about five months later in the land of Ammon. We do not know where Zenon spent the intervening months or what he was doing. Perhaps he was investigating the management of Apollonios' estates at Bethanath and elsewhere, or buying slaves and horses. But in the month Xandikos of the year 27 Zenon was at Birta in

⁵⁶ See 'A Large Estate,' pp. 32 and 33 for a discussion of Kriton.

Ammanitis, which immediately causes us to wonder what his motive was in visiting such a remote region. The purchase of slaves can scarcely have been his sole, or even his principal, purpose in going to Ammanitis, for surely he could have purchased suitable slaves without making such a long journey. I suggest that his main concern was to inspect Toubias' administration of this district, and so far as possible to establish and further good relations between him and Apollonios. That his mission bore good fruit is proved by the generous gifts sent two years later by Toubias to Apollonios and to Ptolemy. Moreover *klerouchoi* were settled near Birta, and it was important for Apollonios to discover the disposition of their commander, Toubias, to the rule of Ptolemy. At the same time Zenon may have taken the opportunity to form an idea of the wealth of this region, which would enable him to advise Apollonios of the size of the taxes which this region could reasonably be expected to pay to Ptolemy. Also Zenon may have discovered then, if he did not know it before, that Ammanitis was the mother of fine horses and onagers.

When he had satisfied himself of the fidelity of Toubias, Zenon probably returned to the more populous parts of Syria and Palestine nearer the coast. It was about this time that he despatched his coachman Herakleides to secure horses and onagers in various parts of the country and especially in Ammanitis. During the next few months Zenon appears to have made extended journeys through the country, if we may judge from the large number of accounts of the supplies used by parties travelling in Syria and Palestine which refer to this year. We have no information about the purpose of these journeys, but they were probably systematic tours of inspection. Zenon may have purchased slaves and horses, but his principal task was probably to investigate the administration of the country. One of the accounts that belongs to this period mentions supplies given out to members of a garrison, which supports my belief that Zenon was interested in the welfare of the soldiers sent to Palestine and Syria from Egypt. Another record mentions the fact that flour was obtained at Bethanath, which suggests that Zenon may have been visiting all of the estates of Apollonios, for one of his estates was situated there.

Perhaps it was on one of these journeys that Zenon passed through the village where Jeddous lived. Zenon apparently did some service to this man, for in the spring of 258 B. C. he sent his agent Straton to recover a debt from Jeddous. I reject the theory, suggested by Vincent, that Zenon was trying to collect taxes from Jeddous that were overdue. For if Jeddous had failed to pay his taxes, it would not have been Zenon's job to collect them, but rather that of the person who had undertaken to raise the taxes of the district wherein Jeddous resided. I believe that the transaction between Jeddous and Zenon was of a private character, and the help which Oryas and Alexandros gave to Straton in his efforts to recover the debt shows that Zenon had considerable influence with the local officials.

It was probably only a short time after his effort to recover this debt from Jeddous that Zenon returned to Alexandria. On the way he passed through Idumea, stopping at Marisa, where he bought some slaves from a certain Zaidelos. Some of these slaves escaped before Zenon reached the frontier of Egypt, but he made strenuous efforts to recover them, writing to many of his agents in Idumea. From this brief survey one sees that Zenon was in Syria and Palestine from the end of 260 till the late spring of 258 B. C., but we cannot be sure that during this period he was there continuously, for he may have made one or more journeys back to Egypt, although there is no record to suggest that he did.

After his return to Egypt Zenon maintained his lively interest in various business enterprises in Syria and Palestine and kept in close touch with the agents of Apollonios stationed there. These agents reported their activity to Zenon and in case of friction with other agents referred their difficulties to Zenon for settlement. A case in point is the letter of Herakleitos to Zenon in which he complained that Nikanor was treating him badly. But the most important fact that we learn from the letters of these commercial agents to Zenon is that he is concerned with the export of oil, slaves, mattresses, and other merchandise from Syria. Knowing, as we do, that the importation of oil into Egypt for the purpose of selling it was prohibited and that restrictions were put upon the importation of slaves, we wonder whether the business of Zenon was strictly within the law. But, since we have no proof that Apollonios and Zenon intended to

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sell the imported oil and because we may suspect that Apollonios was exempt from the limitations ordinarily placed upon the import of slaves, it is not necessary for us to conclude that Zenon's business in Syria was dishonest and illegal. However, in circumventing the customs officials on the Syrian coast, Zenon and his agents do seem to have made too free use of his high position in the service of Apollonios.

GEORGE MCLEAN HARPER, JR.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

GREEK FISH NAMES

PART II¹

3.01. *αιδοῖον θαλάσσιον* 'a sea-animal, perhaps pennatula,' Nic. ap. Ath., named from its shape: *αιδοῖον* 'pudenda,' *αιδοῖος* 'regarded with awe; bashful,' *αιδέομαι* 'be ashamed; stand in awe of,' *αιδάς* 'shame; reverence, respect,' etc.

3.02. *αιετός*, Att. *ἀετός* 'an eagle: a kind of ray, of the class *σέλαχος*,' Arist. H. A., named from its resemblance to an eagle with outspread wings, as in NE. *eagle-ray* 'Myliobatis aquila.'

3.03. *ἀράχνη, ἀράχνης* 'a spider: (named from its resemblance in shape) a sea-fish,' Lat. *araneus* 'a spider: a sea-fish, *Draco trachinus*,' Plin.

3.04. *ἀστήρ* 'a star: a star-fish,' Arist. H. A., *ἀστέριον* 'a kind of spider,' named from its shape (body with radiating legs), Lat. *stella* 'star: star-fish,' Plin.

3.05. *ἀστράβηλος* (not twisted, straight) 'a kind of shell,' Agias et Dercyl. ap. Ath.: *στράβηλος* 'a twisted or wreathed creature, a snail,' *στραβός, στρεβλός* 'twisted,' *στρόβιλος* 'a twist or turn: a kind of sea-snail; a top; the cone of the fir or pine; a whirlpool, whirlwind,' *στρόμβος* 'a top; whirlwind; a spiral snail-shell, a snail, a shell used as a trumpet.'

3.06. *αὐλός* 'any hollow body: tube, groove, flute; a fish, also called *σωλήν*,' *αὐλωπός* (hollow-eyed or dish-faced) 'a kind of fish,' Opp., *αὐλωπίας* 'a fish, perhaps a kind of mackerel,' Arist. H. A.

3.07. *βάτραχος*, Ion. *βάθρακος* 'frog; the frog of a horse's hoof; a disease of the tongue, esp. in children, called in Latin *rāna*; (in reference to the filaments attached to the head) a fish of the *σέλαχος* kind, *Lophius piscatorius* (or *barbatus*), also called *ἄλιεύς*,' Arist. H. A. Similarly Lat. *rāna* 'frog; frogfish, angler'; NE. *frogfish, fishing-frog, angler* 'Lophius piscatorius, a fish with cephalic spines modified for attracting other fishes, or resembling a fishing-pole and line with bait.'

The Greek word may be a common compound of **bat(h)-* 'pad' and **yrəgho-* 'spiny, prickly.' For the first part compare

¹ For Part I, see Vol. XLVIII, pp. 297-325.

ON. *padda* 'frog, toad,' NIcel. 'toad; beetle,' ME. *padde*, *pad-dok* 'frog or toad,' MDu., Du. *padde* 'toad,' identical with NE. *pad*, earlier *padde* 'a soft cushion or stuffed part to relieve pressure,' *vb.* 'stuff, wad,' with which compare Russ. *botět* 'dick, fett werden,' *botělyj* 'beleibt, dick, fett, feist,' Lat. *bassus* 'crassus, pinguis, obesus.' For the second part compare Gr. *ῥάχις* 'the lower part of the back, chine; the spine or backbone; the sharp projection on the middle of the shoulder-blade; the outer edge of the tendrils of the polypus,' *ῥάχος*, Ion. *ῥηχός* 'thorn-bush, briar; twig, branch,' Ir. *fracc* 'needle,' Lith. *rāžas* 'a dry leafless twig; stub of a broom; tine of a fork' (cf. Boisacq 837 with lit.): Lat. *rāna* (**urāksnā* 'ῥηχώδης, thorny, rough, warty') 'frog.'

3.08. *βούγλωσσος* 'ox-tongue, a boragineous plant; a fish, the sole,' named from its shape as in Lat. *lingulāca*.

3.09. *βραχυκέφαλος* 'short-head, a fish,' Xenocr. Aquat.

3.10. *γαλέη*, *-ῆ* 'an animal of the weasel-kind: a small fish,' Ael. N. A., named from its slender shape (as in Lat. *mustēla*, NE. *weasel-fish*), *γαλεώτης* 'the sword-fish, *ξιφίας*,' Polyb., also from its shape. Cf. No. 4.17.

3.11. *γέραvos* 'a crane; a crane for lifting weights; (o) a fish,' Ael. N. A., named from some resemblance to a crane's bill,' *γεράvov* 'geranium, crane's bill,' Lat. *grus* 'crane; battering-ram,' etc.

3.12. *γραīa*, *γραīs* 'an old woman; scum on boiled milk; (incrustation) a sea-crab,' supposed to be related to *γέρων* 'old man' (cf. Boisacq). Perhaps rather from **grāyo-* 'draw together, wrinkle': OHG. *crawil*, *crouwil* 'Gabel mit hakenförmigen Spitzen; Klaue, Kralle,' etc. For meaning compare Swed dial. *krabbe* 'Haken zum Suchen im Wasser': ON. *krabbe*, OE. *crabbe* 'crab,' OHG. *krebiz* 'Krebs,' *γραīaīos* 'crab.'

3.13. *δόνvαξ*, Ion. *δοῦvαξ*, Dor. *δῶvαξ* 'reed, shaft; a shepherd's pipe (*σῦρvξ*): a kind of fish, *σωλήv*,' named from its hollow shell.

3.14. *ἐλεδώνη* 'a kind of polyp,' Arist. H. A., named from its curling feelers, from **yeled-* 'roll, twist': ON. *velta* 'roll,' Goth. *waltjan* 'sich wälzen,' etc. Or from the primitive root **yel-* and the suffix as in Gr. *τηκεδών*, *ἀκηχεδών*, *φαγέδαινα*, etc.

Compare **yelik-* in Gr. *ἔλικες* 'twists, convolutions; tendrils; curls; feelers of the polyp,' and for meaning *ὅστλιγξ* 'anything curled: feeler of the polyp,' *βόστρυχος* 'a curl, lock of hair; anything twisted,' *βοστρύχον* 'tendril; feeler of the polyp,' *πλοχμοί* 'locks, braids of hair: tendrils of the polyp.'

3.15. *ζύγιανα* 'perhaps the hammer-headed shark,' Epich., from the resemblance of the head to a yoke: *ζυγόν*, Lat. *jugum*, etc.

3.16. *ζωόφυτον* (animal-plant) 'a zoophyte, the lowest of the animal tribe such as polypi,' Arist. H. A., so called from the branching feelers.

3.17. *ἰέραξ*, Epic-Ion. *ἱρηξ* 'hawk, falcon; a kind of sea-fish,' Epich., probably named from the resemblance of the fish's head to the hawk's beak. This word is referred to *ἱερός*, Dor. *ἱλαρός* 'agile, alert.' Perhaps, however, it is rather from the meaning 'curved, hooked': Ir. *fiar* 'schief,' Welsh *gwyr* 'recurvus, limus,' OE. *wir* 'wire,' OHG. *wiara* 'gold or silver wire.' Or the two groups of words may well be related.

3.18. *ἱππουρος* (horse-tailed 'sea-fish, *Coryphaena hippurus*,' Epich., Arist. H. A. (Lat. *hippūrus*).

3.19. *καλαμάριον* 'a reed-case, pen case; (reed, pen) a kind of cuttle-fish, pen-fish, calamary,' Geop., possibly named from its pen-shaped internal skeleton or cuttle-bone: *κάλαμος* 'reed, reed-pen, arrow, stalk.' Or the primary meaning may be 'ink-stand,' in view of the inky fluid ejected, as indicated by NGr. *καλαμάρι* 'inkstand,' κ. θαλάσσιον 'inkfish,' It. *calamajo* inkstand, inkfish,' Sp., Pg. *calamar* 'inkfish, calamary,' etc.

3.20. *καμμαρίς*, *-ίδος* (Gal.), *κάμμαρος* 'a kind of lobster,' Epich. and Sophron. ap Ath., Dor. *καμμάρως* (*καμάρος* MS): *τὰς ἐρυθρὰς καρίδας* Hes. (Lat. *cammarus*, *gammarus*), ON. *humarr* 'lobster,' supposed to be named from its arched shell or as being covered. Cf. Boisacq 403 with lit. Or cf. No. 1.36. If these words are from the primary meaning 'bent, curved,' it was probably in reference to the hooked claws. Compare *ῥαιβοσκελῆς* 'crook-legged,' of the *πάγουρος* Anth. P. 6, 196, *λοξοβάμων* 'going sideways or walking crooked, like the crab,' Hesych.

3.21. *κῆρυξ* 'a herald, messenger; (in reference to the herald's staff) a kind of shell-fish with a wreathed shell,' Arist. H. A.,

κηρύκιον 'a herald's wand, often with two serpents wound around it; a shell-fish.'

3.22. *κιθαρος* 'breast, chest; a kind of turbot, sacred to Apollo' (Lat. *citharus* 'a fish of the sole kind'): *κιθάρα* 'lyre.' Here also *κιθαρωδός* 'one who plays and sings to the cithara, harper; a fish, found in the Red Sea,' Ael. N. A.

3.23. *κόγχη* 'a muscle or cockle; muscle-shell; any shell-like bone or cavity of the body; a measure for liquids,' dim. *κογχίον*, *-άριον*, *κόγχος* 'a muscle; liquid measure; shell-like bone; upper part of the skull,' *κογχίλη*, *-ύλιον* 'muscle, bivalve shell, purple-fish,' etc. (Lat. *concha*, *conchula*, etc.), Skt. *gaṅkhā-* 'a muscle; the temple, temple bone,' Lett. *senze* 'a muscle,' base **ko(n)qh-* 'bend, curve' also in Gr. *κόχλος* 'a shell-fish with a spiral shell; a bivalve shell-fish,' *κοχλίας* 'a snail; anything twisted; a spiral staircase,' *κοχλίον*, *-ίδιον* 'a little snail; a spiral,' *κοχλιάριον* 'a spoon' (Lat. *coclea*, *coclear*, etc.), Skt. *gaṅhnā* 'Ast, Zweig,' NPers. *śāṅ* 'Ast, Zweig, Horn, Geweih,' Lith. *szāká* 'Ast, Zweig von einem Baum, von einem Strom, vom Hirschgeweih; auch von Forken, Gabeln,' *szākē* 'Gabel, Forke,' *szaknīs* 'Wurzel' (cf. Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. 307). On Lat. *congius* and the above cf. Walde and Boisacq.

3.24. *κόλλοντος* 'name of an unknown fish,' Marc. Sidet. 22 (tuft-tail?): *κόλλος*, *κάλλαιον* 'a cock's comb; the tail feathers.'

3.25. *κορύφαια* 'a fish, *ἴπποντος*,' Dorio ap. Ath., *κορυφαία* 'a tuft on the crown of the head,' *κορυφή* 'head, top, peak,' *κόρυφος* 'a small (crested) bird,' *κόρυς*, *-υθος* 'helmet; head,' *κόρυθος* 'a crested bird, *τροχίλος*,' *κορυδός* 'the crested or tufted lark,' etc.

3.26. *κράβυζος* 'a kind of shell-fish,' Epich., probably named from its wrinkled shell: OE. *ge-hrumpen* 'wrinkled,' OHG. *hrimfan* 'contract, wrinkle,' MLG. *rimpen* 'rümpfen, runzeln,' Lith. *kremblýs* 'a kind of edible mushroom,' Gr. *κράμβος* 'dry, shriveled,' *κράμβη* 'a cabbage,' and without the nasal: ON. *her-pask* 'contract, shrink,' Russ. *koróbiti* 'krumm ziehen, krümmen, biegen.' For meaning compare NE. *shrimp* 'a little wrinkled person, a manikin; a salt-water crustacean, *Crangon vulgaris*': *shrimp* 'contract, shrink,' MDu. *schrimpen*, MHG. *schrimpfen*, NHG. *schrumpfen* 'shrive, wrinkle,' from **sqre(m)b-* 'contract, shrink, shrivel.'

3.27. Hom. *λαγώς*, Ion. *λαγός*, Att. *λαγός* 'hare; a bird with rough feathered feet; a kind of fish,' Epich., ὁ θαλάττιος λ. 'the sea-hare, a fish,' Plut., probably named from a resemblance of the fins to the hare's feet, as in the name of birds: *λαγώπους* 'rough-footed like a hare: a bird, apparently of the grouse kind; a downy plant, hare's-foot trefoil,' *λαγωδίας* 'a bird with feathered feet.'

3.28. *λεπάς* 'limpet, patella,' not named "from its clinging to the rock," as explained in Liddell and Scott (cf. also Boisacq s. v.), but because it was thought of as a scale or thin plate that peels off, whence *λεπάστη* 'a limpet-shaped drinking-cup,' probably derived from *λεπάς* in the original sense 'scale, thin plate, Schale': *λέπος* 'scale, bark or rind, husk,' *λοπάς* 'a flat earthen vessel, a flat dish or plate: an oyster (Luc. Asin. 47); a variant reading for *λεπάς*,' Theophr. ib. 4, 6, 7, *λοπάδιον* 'an oyster,' *λόπος*, *λοπός* 'shell, husk, bark,' *λοπίς*, *λεπίς* 'scale, bark, rind,' *λέπας* 'a bare rock' (as being rough and scaly), *λεπρός* 'rough, scaly,' *λεπράς πέτρα* 'rough rock,' Theocr. 1, 40, *λεπράς* 'rock,' Opp., *λέπω* 'strip off, peel,' etc.

3.29. *λιθοκέφαλος* 'stonehead, epithet of the fish *χρέμυς*,' Arist. Fr. 278, H. A. 8, 19, 5.

3.30. *λύρα* 'a lyre; a sea-fish, perhaps *Trigla lyra*,' Arist. H. A., named from its shape as in No. 3.22.

3.31. **μυστός* (hollowed out, hollow), Lat. *mystus* 'a species of fish,' Plin. 32, 11: Gr. *μυστίλη* 'a piece of bread hollowed out as a spoon,' *μύστρον* 'spoon; a measure,' Lat. *mutilus*, ON. *mǫþ* 'Schabsel, Schrot,' *má* (**mawēn*) 'abschaben.'

3.32. *μαῖα* 'foster-mother, nurse; grandmother: (with the idea of something shriveled?) a large crab,' Arist. H. A. Compare NE. *granddaddy longlegs*, a child's name for the spider.

3.33. *μύξων* 'χελών': No. 5.22.

3.34. *οὖς* 'Αφροδίτης 'a kind of shell-fish,' Antig. Car. ap. Ath. 88 A, *οὖς θαλάσσιον* 'a shell-fish,' Arist. H. A. 4, 4, 26, named from the resemblance of the shell to the ear.

3.35. *όφθαλμός* 'eye: (from its large staring eyes) a kind of fish,' Oribas., *όφθαλμίας* 'a kind of eagle (sharpeye); a kind of fish (walleye),' Plaut. Captiv. 4, 2, 71. Similarly NE. *walleye*

‘an eye in a condition in which it presents little or no color; a large staring eye, as of some fishes: a wall-eyed fish.’

3.36. *ὄφις* ‘serpent, snake: (from its thin elongated shape) a kind of fish,’ *ὄφείδιον* ‘a kind of fish’ (Lat. *ophidion* ‘a fish like the conger’).

3.37. *πάγουρος* (crust-tail) ‘a kind of crab,’ Ar. Eq., Arist. H. A. (Lat. *pagurus* ‘a kind of crab-fish,’ Plin. 9, 31; Pall. 1, 35): *πάγος* (a solidifying, incrustation) ‘scum on the surface of liquids; salt incrustation,’ *ἐπίπαγος* ‘a congealed or hardened crust on the top of a thing; scum,’ *πάγιος* ‘solid, firm,’ and *οὐρά* ‘tail.’

3.38. *πατελίς*, *-ίδος* ‘a species of limpet,’ Schol. Opp. H. 1, 138: *πάτελλα* (from Lat. *patella*?) ‘a flat dish,’ dim. *πατέλλιον*, *πατάνη* (Lat. *patina*) ‘a kind of flat dish,’ with *-a-* from *-e-*: *πέταλος* ‘outspread, broad, flat,’ *πέταλον* ‘leaf,’ *πετάννυμι* ‘spread out,’ Lat. *pateo*, etc., on which cf. Boisacq and Walde.

3.39. *πέλτης* ‘the Nile-fish *κορακίνος* salted,’ Diphil. Siphn. ap. Ath. 121 B: *πέλτη* ‘a small light shield.’ Cf. No. 3.43.

3.40. *πενταδάκτυλος* ‘with five fingers or toes: a pentadactyl, a kind of shell-fish,’ Plin. 32, 11, 53.

3.41. *πίθηκος*, Dor. *-āκος* ‘an ape; a kind of *σέλαχος*,’ *πίθηξ*, *πίθων* ‘ape.’ The ape is supposed to be named here from its ugliness (Lat. *foetus*), and in *καλλίας* (No. 2.18), ironically, as a beauty (*κάλλος*). But the ape is more naturally named from its bent-in or flat nose, as in No. 3.51. The above words may therefore be referred to a base **bhidh-* ‘bend, curve.’ The term *πίθηκος* (**bhidhāqo-* ‘bent, curved’) could equally well describe the flat-nosed Simia and the plagiostomous Selache (*σέλαχος*). From the same base come words for ‘round vessel’: Hom. *πίθος* ‘a wine-jar; (Arist. Mund.) a meteor,’ *πιθάριον* ‘a keg,’ Ion. *πιθάκνη*, Att. *φιδάκνη* ‘wine-jar; drinking-cup,’ Lat. *fidēlia* ‘an earthen pot,’ ON. *biða* ‘Milchkübel,’ Norw. *bide* ‘Butterfass,’ *bidne* ‘Gefäß,’ perhaps also ON. *beit*, OE. *bāt* ‘boat,’ with *-t-* from pre-Germ. *-dhn-*. Probably from a root **bhei-* ‘press (in, down), bend’ in Gr. *φιάλη* ‘a broad, flat, shallow cup or bowl; a cinerary vase, urn; sunken work in a ceiling’ (cf. Prellwitz s. v.).

3.42. *πίν(ν)η*, *πίννα* (*πίνα* Gram.) ‘Pinna marina, a kind of

muscle which fixes itself to the bottom of the sea by silken threads,' from **pinčā*: Lat. *pinna* 'fin; pinnacle,' *bi-pinnis* 'two-edged; a battle-ax,' OE. *finn* 'fin' (**pinčo-*), MLG. *vinne* 'Flossfeder des Fischfisches; auch vom Drachen,' OSwed. *fina* 'Flosse,' Norw. dial. *finn* 'Borstengras,' etc. (cf. Fick III⁴, 240), OE. *finta* 'tail,' **pin-don-*: Ir. *ind* 'Spitze, Ende,' root **pei-* 'pointed, sharp,' also in Skt. *piccham* 'tail-feather,' Czech *pisk* 'pin-feather': Lat. *piscis*, Goth. *fisks* 'fish,' etc. (Zubatý, KZ. 31, 13).

3.43. *πλάταξ* 'Alexandrian name of the fish *κορακίνος*,' Ath. 309 A, *πλατανιστής* 'an unknown fish of the Ganges,' Plin. 9, 17. *πλατίστακος* 'a large species of the fish *μύλλος*,' Dorio ap. Ath. 118 C, 'also for *σαπέρδης*,' Parm. ib. 308 F, Lat. *platessa* (from the Greek) 'flat-fish, plaice': Gr. *πλατύς* 'wide, broad,' *πλάτη* 'a flat or broad surface,' *πλάτος* 'breadth; the flat of the tail in fish,' from the base **pelā-* 'flat, broad,' also in MHG. *vluoder* 'Flounder,' Swed. *flundra*, NE. *flounder*; OE. *flōc*, ON. *flóki* 'flounder,' OHG. *flah* 'flat,' etc.

Some of the above, together with *πέλτης* (No. 3.39), may have been named from being salted: *πλατύς* 'ἀλμυρός, salt, salty,' Skt. *paṭuh* 'sharp, keen,' *paṭati* 'burst, split,' etc. (cf. Boisacq 792 with lit.), with which compare Gr. *πέλτη* δόρυ, ἀκόντιον Hes., λόγχη Suid., 'shaft, pole,' Xen., and the root **pele-* in Gr. *πέλεκυς* 'ax,' *πέλλα* λίθος Hes., etc. Cf. No. 1.59.

3.44. *πολύπος* 'many-footed: a sea-polyp' (Lat. *polypus*), *πολυποδίνη* 'a small kind of polyp,' Ath. 318 E, *πολυπόδιον* 'a little polyp.'

3.45. *πτύξαγρις* 'name of the crab which extracts the *πτύχες* of the oyster from its shell,' Zonar. This sounds like a popular etymology. The word probably means 'catch-claw': *πτύξις* 'a folding, fold' (*πτύσσω* 'fold, double up') and *ἄγρα* 'a catching.' Cf. No. 6.01.

3.46. *ῥόμβος* 'a whirling motion; a spinning-top or wheel; a rhomb: a species of fish, of which the turbot and brill are varieties, so called from its rhomb-like shape' (Lat. *rhombus* 'a flat-fish, turbot'), *ῥέμβω* 'turn round and round, roll about,' MLG. *wrimpen* 'verziehen, rümpfen,' *wrempich* 'verdreht, entstellt,' etc.

3.47. *σάλπιγξ θαλασσία* (sea-trumpet) 'a conch, elsewhere called *στρόμβος*.'

3.48. *σάκουτος* 'some kind of fish,' Geop. 20, 7, 1, perhaps a term descriptive of its general appearance, derived from *σάκ(κ)ος* 'a coarse cloth of hair, esp. of goat's hair; a coarse beard; sack, bag.'

3.49. *σάνδαλον* 'a wooden sole, sandal: a flat fish, like the sole or turbot,' also *σανδάλιον*, identified by Hesych. with *ψῆττα*, but distinguished from it by Alciphro 1, 7. For meaning compare Lat. *solea* 'a sandal: a fish, the sole.'

3.50. *σίλουρος* 'a river fish, probably the sheat-fish' (Lat. *silurus*), named from its rounded tail, according to Solmsen, IF. XXX, 9 ff., from **σιλός* (Lat. *silus* 'having a turned-up nose, pug-nosed, snub-nosed') + *οὐρά* 'tail.' The first part of the word is closely related to *Σιληνός* (Snubnose) 'Silenus,' *σίλλος* 'jeering, satire,' etc., which Solmsen refers to a base **suāi-*. These should rather be referred to a base **tuei-* 'swing, sway, roll, turn, bend': Gr. ἀνάσιλλος (rolled up) 'having rolled-up hair, topknotted' ἀνάσιλλον 'topknot, tuft; the hair on the head of a lion; on the forehead of Parthians; as a slave's mask in comedy': Lat. *pileus*, *pileum* 'a conical felt cap, made to fit close, worn at Rome at shows,' *pileatus* 'covered with the *pileus*,' *Parthi pileāti* 'the bonneted (topknotted) Parthians,' *pila* (**tūilā*) 'ball, globe, ballot, stuffed effigy,' Gr. *σίλλος* (a turning up, i. e. the nose) 'jeering, satire,' *σίλλυβος* 'tuft, bob; parchment label,' *σιμός* 'bent, inclined (up, down, in, out): steep; bent in, hollow, concave; flat-nosed,' *σιρός* (**tūiros* 'bent in, hollow') 'a pit, esp. for keeping corn in; a pitfall,' *σιφλός* 'bent, crippled; blinking, purblind [*σιμός* τυφλός Hes.]; bent in, hollow, hungry,' *σιφων* 'an empty or hollow body; reed, tube, siphon,' Lat. *tibia* 'pipe, flute; tibia,' with loss of *u* by dissimilation, etc. Cf. Class. Phil. XIV, 252 ff., 262, 269 f.

3.51. *σιμός* 'a kind of tunny,' named either from the rounding shape of the body, which is deepest about the middle, whence it tapers rapidly to a slender caudal peduncle; or from the shape of the caudal fin, which is very short, with upper and under lobes extending high and low: *σιμός* 'bent up, down, in, out,' *σιμόω* 'bend in or upwards; turn up the nose, sneer,' *σιμότης* 'snubbi-

ness; hollowness, flatness; upturning' (of the tusks of a wild boar, Xen. Cyn. 10, 13), whence Lat. *sīmus* 'flat-nosed' (of dolphins), *sīmia*, *sīmīus*, 'an ape.'

3.52. *σκόμβρος* 'generic name for the *θίννος* and *πηλαμύς*,' named as above: *σκαμβός* 'crooked, bent, bent asunder, of the legs' (ablaut *a*: *o*), MDu. *schampen* 'abgleiten, glance off, of a weapon,' *schampelen* 'glide or glance off; stumble in speech,' Du. *afschampen* 'abgleiten (von Hieben mit dem Beil oder Messer), abglippen,' *afschamper* 'Fehlhieb,' NHG. dial. *schampeln* 'wackelig gehen.'

3.53. *σκώψ* 'a small kind of owl; a kind of fish,' Nic. ap. Ath. 329 A, probably named from the staring eyes resembling those of an owl, less probably from the noise uttered.

3.54. *σπίνη* 'a kind of fish (Alex.); a small bird,' *σπίνος* 'a bird of the finch kind': *σπινός. ἰσχνός*, 'lean, thin,' referred by Persson, Beitr. I, 402 ff. to **spi-* 'stretch, extend.'

3.55. *σφαῖρα θαλαττία* (sea-ball) 'a sea-urchin' Arist. H. A.

3.56. *σωλήν* 'a channel, gutter, pipe, hollow tile: a shell-fish,' Epich., OHG. *dola* 'cloaca, fistula, fornacula' (cf. Ehrismann, PBB. XX, 60).

3.57. *τανία* 'a band, fillet: a tape-worm; a long, thin fish, perhaps Cepola *taenia*,' Epich.: *τανί-*, *τανός* 'stretched,' *τανίω* 'stretch,' Lat. *tenuis*, Skt. *tanú-ḥ* 'thin, slender,' etc.

3.58. *τέττιξ ἐνάλιος* (sea-cicada) 'a lobster,' named from some resemblance to the cicada: *τέττιξ* 'cicada.'

3.59. *τεῦθις*, *τεῦθος*, *τεῦθός*, dim. *τεῦθιδιον* 'a cuttle-fish,' **dheudho-*, *-id-* 'having flaps or fringes': *θύσανοι* 'tassels, tags, fringe (in Hom. of the *aiγίς* and *ζώη*); tufts of the golden fleece (Pindar); of the long arms of the cuttle-fish' (Opp.), Hom. *θυσανόεις*, Hdt. *θυσανωτός* 'fringed, tasseled, tagged,' *θυσάνωρος* 'with a rough, tagged tail,' *θύσομαι* 'shake,' Skt. *dódhāt-* 'erschütternd, tobend,' *dudhita-ḥ* 'verworren,' etc. (Brugmann, Gdr., II, 104 f.), LG. *dudel* 'herabhängender Flitter an Kleidungsstücken,' ME. *dudde* 'a coarse cloak,' NE. *duds*, Norw. *dodd*, *dott* 'tuft, wisp, heap,' EFr. *dott* 'Büschen, Haufen, Zotte,' MLG. *vordutten* 'verwirren,' MDu. *dotten*, *dutten* 'verrückt sein,' NE. *dotty* 'verrückt,' MHG. *vertutzen* 'betäubt werden,' NE. *dodder* 'shake, tremble,' etc. (Class.

Phil. XVI, 67). Or, with less probability, this name for the cuttle-fish might be referred to the same base in the sense of 'stirring up, making turbid,' in reference to the inklike fluid ejected, as in No. 5.28. Compare also Gr. *θολός* 'mud, dirt, esp. of the thick, dark juice of the cuttle-fish,' and OE. *wāse-scite* (mud-squirter) 'cuttle-fish.'

3.60. *τευθός* 'a gregarious fish,' Arist. H. A. 9, 2, 1, was probably named as above, because of certain appendages. Or from the meaning '(going) in a mass or bunch': EFris. *dott(e)* 'Haufen, Klumpen, eine wirre Masse von Dingen,' etc.

3.61. *τύφλη* 'one of the fishes of the Nile, mentioned in Ath. 312 B, *τυφλίνης* or *-ίνος* 'a Nile fish,' Marcell. Sid. 25, Hesych., dim. *τυφλινίδιον*, Xenocr., named from its walleyes, *τυφλίνης* or *-ίνος ὄφις* 'a kind of snake, like our blind-worm': *τυφλός* 'blind.'

3.62. *χάννη, χάννος* 'a sea-fish, so called from its wide mouth': *χαίνω* 'yawn, open wide,' etc. Perhaps rather from the noise made. Cf. No. 7.24.

3.63. *χελιδών* 'the swallow: the flying-fish,' from its appearance: No. 4.51.

3.64. *χελλών, χελών -ώνος* (labeo) 'a kind of fish with a long snout, of the genus *κέφαλος*,' Arist. H. A., also *χελμών* Hes., *χελλαρίης* 'a sea-fish, *όνισκος*,' Ath.: *χεῖλος*, Lesb. *χέλλος* 'lip,' *χελύνη* 'lip; jaw,' ON. *gjølnar* 'gills' (cf. Boisacq with lit.), i. e. 'fold, flap,' as in *ἐπιπτύγματα* 'over-folds: gills.'

As the primary meaning was probably 'something curved, rounding,' we may compare Gr. *χέλυς* 'tortoise; lyre; the arched breast,' *χελώνη* 'tortoise, tortoise-shell, lyre; military testudo; footstool; grave-stone,' *χελώνον* 'tortoise-shell; the arched part of the back,' etc., OBulg. *žely* 'tortoise.' There is no basis for referring this group to Lith. *gel̄vas* 'gelblich, fahl,' etc., as approved by Boisacq.

Here also may belong Lith. *galvà* (**gholūā*) 'Kopf, Haupt,' OPruss. *gallū*, acc. *galwan* 'head,' OBulg. *glava* 'Kopf; Haupt,' *glavizna* 'κεφαλίς,' Russ. *golóvli* 'Hasel, Meeräsche, Grosskopf,' *góloveni* 'Cyprinus dobula,' Serb.-Cr. *glàvati* 'den Kopf hervorstecken (von einem Fisch),' *glàvatica* 'Forellenart,' *glàvoč* 'Grundel,' Slov. *glaváč* 'Dickkopf,' *glavâtica* 'Lachsforelle; Krautkopf,' *glavič* 'Knauf, Knopf,' *glavník* 'Haarkamm,' etc., which Berneker I, 324, combines with OBulg. *golū* 'nackt,

bloss,' OHG. *kalo* ' kahl,' etc., which belong in an entirely different range of meaning, rejecting Hirt's connection with Skt. *glāuh*, phonetically and semantically quite possible.

3.65. *χελωνός* 'the sea-tortoise or turtle,' Hesych., *χελώνη*, etc., as above.

3.66. *χήμη* 'a yawning, gaping; the cockle (named from its hollow shell); a measure of about the size of the shell' (Lat. *chēmē* 'a measure for liquids,' *chāma* 'a cockle,' Plin. 32, 11, 53), ON. *gómr*, OHG. *guomo* 'Gaumen,' OE. *gōma* 'palate,' pl. 'jaws,' from the root in Gr. *χαίνω*, *χάσκω* 'open wide, yawn, gape.'

3.67. *χηράμιβη* 'a kind of muscle,' *χηραμίς* 'a broad, flat kind of muscle, or scallop-shell, used for measuring liquids': *χηραμός* 'hole, cleft, gap, hollow,' *χαραμός* 'ἡ τῆς γῆς διάστασις Hes., *χώρα*, *χῶρος* 'open space, country,' etc., from the root as above.

3.68. *ψῆσσα* (Zonar., Suid.), Att. *ψῆττα* 'a kind of flat-fish, a plaice, sole, or turbot,' Ar. Lys., Plat. Symp., ψ. *χονδροφόνη* (cartilaginous) 'a kind of skate,' Matro ap. Ath., dim. *ψηττάριον*: *ψήχειν* 'rub down,' *ψηχρός* 'rubbed thin, fine, delicate,' *ψῆν* 'rub down or away.' Cf. Boisacq 1077.

3.69. *ώτάριον* 'a little ear; the ear or handle of a vessel: a shell-fish of the muscle kind,' Ath. 87 F, *ώτιον* 'ear; little handle: some kind of shell-fish,' Xenocr., Schol. Nic., *οὖς* 'ear; handle.' Cf. No. 3.34.

4.01. *αιολίας* 'a speckled fish,' Epich. Gr.: *αιόλος* 'quick-moving, rapid; changeful of hue, variegated, dappled; gleaming, shiny,' whence also *Αἰολίς*, from the chalk cliffs, a parallel to *Αργινοῦσαι*, as the islets off Aeolis are called, Xen. Hel. 1, 6, 27.

4.02. *ἀλλάβης* or *ἀλάβης*, -ητος 'a fish of the Nile,' Strabo 823 (Lat. *alabētes* Plin.), perhaps named from its dark color: *ἀλάβη* 'a kind of ink,' Hesych.

4.03. *ἀλκηστής* 'a kind of fish,' Opp. H. 1, 170, probably named from the color, which also furnished the name to the halcyon: *ἀλκυών*, Lat. *alcēdo*. The Greek word has the same ending as in *ἀλεκτρυών* 'cock; hen,' the Latin as in *albēdo* 'whiteness,' *rubēdo* 'redness.' With *ἀλκηστής*, *ἀλκυών*, *alcēdo* compare *ἡλέκτωρ* 'the beaming sun,' *ἡλεκτρον* 'an alloy of silver and gold; amber,' *Ἡλέκτρα* 'mother of Iris,' *Ἡλεκτρωνή* 'daugh-

ter of Helios,' ἀλεκτρυών, ἀλέκτωρ 'the cock' (dawn-bird, compare OS. *ūht-fugal* 'dawn-bird, cock'), perhaps also **Αλεκστίς*, who may be a personification of the return of day-light to the earth. These may all come ultimately from the root **ele-*: OHG. *elo* 'yellow,' Lat. *albus*, etc. (cf. Persson, Wzerw. 240). Cf. No. 4.19, and for other words for kingfisher No. 4.26. With this explanation it is possible, or even probable, that *ai ἀλκυονίδες ἥμέραι* meant simply 'the bright or serene days,' with later association with the halcyon.

4.04. ἀλκυόνειον, -όνιον 'bastard-sponge, a zoophyte, so called from being like the halcyon's nest' (Lat. *alcyonium* 'sea-foam'); ἀλκυών 'the kingfisher.'

4.05. ἀλοσάχνη 'a zoophyte of the class ἀλκυόνεια,' Arist. H. A., from ἀλὸς ἄχνη 'sea-foam.'

4.06. ἀλώπηξ 'a fox; a fox-skin; a disease like the mange in foxes: a kind of shark or dogfish,' ἀλωπεκίας 'the thresher shark, *Squalus vulpes*,' ἀλωπεκία 'a disease like the mange in foxes, in which the hair falls off; pl. bald patches on the head.' Herefrom *alōpecias* 'a kind of shark, also called *vulpes marina*,' Plin.

4.07. ἀνθίας 'a sea-fish, *Labrus* or *Serranus anthias*,' identified by Ath. with *κάλλιχθος*, primary meaning 'bright-colored, floridus': ἀνθίον 'floweret,' ἀνθός 'blossom, flower, bloom; bright color, brilliancy,' ἀνθινός 'blooming, fresh; bright-colored,' ἀνθηρός 'flowery, blooming; bright-colored, bright,' ἀνθέω 'bloom; be brilliant, shine with color,' etc.

4.08. ἀστερίας 'starry, spotted with bright points: a fish, a kind of *γαλεός* (Phillyll.); a bird, *Ardea stellaris*, bittern, a kind of hawk,' ἀστήρ 'star.' Cf. No. 3.04.

4.09. ἀφρίτις 'the foam-fish, a kind of ἀφύη,' Arist. Fr., Opp. H., ἀφρός 'foam, froth; the spawn of the ἀφύη, supposed to be produced from foam.' Cf. No. 7.02.

4.10. ἀφύη, dim. ἀφύδιον 'commonly supposed to be the anchovy or sardine, but according to Yarrell and Adams the mackerel-midge, *Motella glauca*,' probably meaning 'foam, foamy,' and so the same as ἀφύη 'Aphyte, name of a votary of Aphrodite,' Ath. 586 A. This meaning is implied by ἀφύω 'become white or bleached,' Hipp. 553, 47, ἀφυώδης 'whitish, like an ἀφύη,' Hipp.

4.11. *ἀχάρνας* (Arist. H. A.), *ἄχαρνος* (Ath.), *ἄχαρνός* (Callias Com.) 'a kind of sea-fish, ὁρφώς, *ἄχάρνα, ἄχερλα*, names of fish in Hesych., primary meaning 'scaly, scabby, spotted': OHG. *ahorn* 'maple,' **aghurno* = *ἄχαρνος*, Lat. *acer* 'maple.' For meaning compare OHG. *māsa* 'entstellender Flecken, Narbe,' *masar* 'knorriger Auswuchs am Ahorn und anderen Bäumen, Maser,' ON. *mosurr* 'geflammtes Holz, Ahorn.' Compare Gr. *ἄχωρ* 'seurf, dandruff,' *ἄχυρον* 'chaff, bran, husks,' *ἄχνη* 'chaff, lint; froth, foam,' Lat. *acus* 'chaff,' ON. *ogn* 'chaff, husk,' Goth. *ahana* 'ἄχυρον,' OHG. *agana* 'Spreu,' Lith. *akūtas* 'Granne.'

4.12. *ἄών* 'a kind of fish,' Epich., perhaps from **āson-* 'dark-colored': Skt. *āsa-h* 'ashes, dust,' *āsita-h* 'dark-colored, black,' Lat. *āreo, āridus*, Gr. *ἄξω* (**az-dō*) 'dry up, parch,' etc. Compare also OHG. *asca* 'Asche': *asco* 'Asche, Äsche, Thymallus vulgaris' (Kluge).

4.13. *βάκχος* 'Bacchus, a Bacchanal; (in reference to the spotted fawnskin worn by Bacchus) a kind of fish, *όνισκος*, Dorio ap. Ath. 118 C (Lat. *bacchus* 'a sea-fish, also called *myxon*,' Plin.). Or from the meaning 'shaggy,' as in No. 1.19.

4.14. *βασιλίσκος* 'a little king; a basilisk; the golden-crested wren; a sea-fish,' Opp. H., certainly named because it was *χρυσοκέφαλος*, a term used as an epithet of a fish, Phryn. Com. *Tραγ. 2* (and notice also that the Lat. loanword *chrysocephalus* means 'golden basilisk,' App. Herb. 128): *βασιλεία* 'kingdom; diadem,' *βασιλείον* 'palace; tiara, diadem,' *βασίλη, βασιλίς, βασίλισσα, βασίλεια* 'queen,' *βασιλικός* 'royal,' *βασιλεύς* 'king, chief; lord, master.' Inasmuch as -*λ-* is constant in all derivatives, the division must be *βασιλ-εύς*. The starting-point was therefore not with the word for king, but from some common source, probably *βάσις* in the sense of 'a raised platform, dais, throne, altar,' a meaning which it might have had in common with *βῆμα, βωμός*. Hence the *βασιλεύς* was the one who ascended the *βῆμα, βωμός* as ruler, judge, or priest.

4.15. *βεμβράς, μεμβράς, -άδιον, -ίδιον*, Dor. *βαμβραδών* 'a small kind of anchovy, not so good as the *ἀφύη*,' *μεμβραφύα* 'a kind of anchovy,' **me-mr-ad* = *μαρμαίρω* 'gleam' (cf. Prellwitz², 76). Cf. No. 4.36.

4.16. *γάλαξ* 'a kind of shell-fish,' Arist. H. A., named either

because it was milk-white or else because it ejected a milky juice, *γαλαξίας* ‘the milky way; a kind of fish, probably the lamprey,’ Galen. 6, p. 395, here *γαλεξίας*: *γάλα* ‘milk,’ *γαλαξίας* ‘milky, milk-white.’

4.17. *γαλέη*, Att. *γαλῆ* ‘a name given to various animals of the weasel kind: a small fish,’ probably named from its slender shape, with less probability from its color, *γαλέός* ‘an animal of the weasel kind: a kind of shark marked like a weasel (described as *νεβρίας* ‘dappled like a fawn,’ Arist. H. A. 6, 10, 10); (*ἀστερίας*) a spotted lizard,’ *γαλεώτης* ‘a spotted lizard; a sword-fish,’ in this sense probably from its shape. Cf. No. 3.10.

4.18. *γλαῦκος* ‘an eatable fish of gray color,’ Epich., Arist. H. A. (Lat. *glaucus* ‘a bluish-colored fish,’ Plin.): *γλαυκός* ‘gleaming, silvery, bluish green or gray’ (Lat. *glaucus*).

4.19. *ἐλεφίτης* or *-ητής* ‘a kind of fish,’ Hipp. 357, 45: *ἀλφός* ‘a dull-white leprosy,’ *ἀλφούς*· *λευκούς* Hes., *ἀλωφός*· *λευκός* H., Lat. *albus* ‘white,’ *alburnus* ‘a white fish,’ etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, PBB. 26, 295): OHG. *elo* ‘yellow,’ Gr. *ἀλλόν*· *γλαυκόν*, *χαροπόν* Hes. Possibly here may belong *ἐλέωτρις* ‘a fish of the Nile,’ Ath. 312 B. Or compare No. 1.23.

4.20. *ἐρυθίνος* (Opp. H., Lat. *erythrinus*, Plin.), *ἐρυθρῖνος* ‘a kind of red mullet,’ Arist. H. A.: *ἐρυθρός* ‘red,’ *ἐρυθράίνω*, *ἐρυθαίνω* ‘redden,’ Lat. *ruber* ‘red,’ *rubellus* ‘reddish,’ *rubellio* ‘a fish of reddish color,’ Plin., Lith. *rūdas* ‘brownish red,’ *rūdis* ‘a bay horse,’ *rudis* ‘Cyprinus rutilus,’ OE. *rudu* ‘red color, redness,’ *ruddoc* ‘robin,’ etc.

4.21. *ἡπαρ* ‘the liver; a kind of fish,’ Plin. H. N. 32, 53, *ἡπατός* ‘a fish of uncertain kind,’ Eubul., Arist., etc., no doubt named from its color, *ἡπατίζω* ‘be liver-colored,’ *ἡπατῖτης* ‘of the liver; liver-colored.’

4.22. *ἴωψ* ‘a small fish,’ Dorio ap. Ath., probably with a violet or dark-colored snout: *ἴον* ‘violet,’ *ἴοεις* ‘violet-colored, dark,’ *ἴο-* ‘violet-, dark-’ in many compounds, and *ὤψ* ‘eye, face.’

4.23. *Ζεύς*, whence Lat. *zeus* (sky, brightness) ‘a kind of fish, called in Latin *faber*,’ Col. 8, 16, 9; Plin. 9, 18, 32, named from its bright colors. For meaning compare Lat. *faber* ‘the dory, Zeus faber,’ **dhabhro-* ‘ornamented, beautiful’: O Bulg. *dobrъ* ‘ἀγαθός, καλός,’ *po-doba* ‘Zier,’ Lith. *dabinti* ‘adorn,’

dābras 'beaver,' Lat. *faber* 'a worker in wood, stone, metal,' adj. 'skilful, ingenious,' etc. (cf. AJPh. 41, 353). Similarly French *dorée* (gilded) 'the dory.'

4.23a. *θύμαλλος* 'an unknown fish,' Ael. N. A. 14, 22, perhaps named from its color: Lett. *dūmals* 'dark-colored, dark brown,' Skt. *dhūmrāh* 'smoke-colored, dark brown, gray,' *dhūmāh* 'smoke, vapor,' Lat. *fūmus*, etc. This would accord with the scientific use of *thymallus*. Or cf. No. 2.15.

4.24. *κάλλιχθος* 'the beauty-fish, a sea-fish,' same as *ἀνθίας* according to Ath., but distinguished from it by Opp., *καλλιώνυμος* (with a beautiful name) 'a kind of fish,' Hipp.: *κάλλος* 'beauty,' *καλός* 'beautiful.' Herefrom Lat. *callionymus* 'a sea-fish, also called *uranoscopus*,' Plin. 32, 7, 24. On *καλλαρίας* (Lat. *callarias* 'a kind of codfish,' Plin.) cf. No. 2.18.

4.25. *κηρίς* 'a sea-fish,' named either from the striated appearance, as in the honeycomb, or the waxen color: *μελικηρίς* 'honeycomb; a virulent eruption on the head,' *κηρίον* 'honeycomb; a cutaneous disease,' *κήριος* 'waxen; wax-colored,' *κηρός* 'wax,' Lat. *cēra* 'wax,' *cēreus* 'waxen; wax-colored' (*pruna, abolla, turtur*), Lith. *korūs* 'favus,' Lett. *kārites* 'Bienenzellen mit Honig,' ablaut *-ē-*: *-ō-*, with which compare *-ə-* in Lith. *karai* 'Steinpocken; rötlich blaue Flecken am Körper beim Typhus,' *pra-karūs* 'maserig vom Holz,' Russ. *kori* 'die Masern,' from the root in Upper Sorb. *čara* (**qērā*) 'Strich, Linie; Furche; Durchhau, Wildbahn im Walde,' Czech *čara* 'Linie,' *čarati* 'Linien ziehen,' Lat. *sin-cērus* (without a scratch, unscathed, unblemished) 'integer, uninjured, whole; uncorrupted, sound, pure.' Class. Phil. XVI, 69 f.

Or *κηρίς* may be from **kērid-*; Skt. *çārā-ḥ* 'bunt, scheckig,' *çāriḥ* 'ein best. Vogel,' *çārikā* 'die indische Elster,' Russ. *soróka*, Lith. *szárka* 'Elster,' Skt. *çāla-ḥ* 'ein best. Fisch,' *çālūra-ḥ* 'Frosch,' *çārdūlā-ḥ* 'Tiger' (if the primary meaning is 'spotted'), *çárvara-ḥ* 'bunt, scheckig,' OPruss. *sirwis*, ChSl. *srūna* 'Reh,' Lith. *szirvas*, *szírmás* 'grau, blaugrau, grauschimmel, von behaarten Tieren, besonders Rindern, Pferden,' *szírmis* 'der blaugraue Ochse; das grauschimmel-Pferd,' *szarmū*, *szermū* 'wilde Katze; Hermelin,' *szarmonys* 'das Wiesel, besonders das weisse,' OHG. *harmo* 'Wiesel,' OE. *hearma-scinnen* 'made of ermine-skins.' From this color-word developed a

word for 'rime, frost; cold': Lith. *szerksznas* 'schimmelig, ins Graue spielend': 'der Reif, gefrorener Tau,' *szarmà* 'der gefrorene Tau, Reif,' Lett. *sarma, serma* 'Reif,' Arm. *sapn* 'Eis,' Skt. *çicira-h* 'kühl, kalt; die kühle Zeit, Frost, Kälte,' etc. These words I refer to the base **kerā-i*: Gr. *κέραμαι, κεράννυμι* 'mix, mingle; blend together, temper; compound,' OHG. *hruoren* (**hrōzian*) 'röhren, berühren,' *hrinan* 'berühren,' ON. *hrína* 'stick to, leave a trace of,' Skt. *çināti* 'mengt, mischt; kocht, brät,' *çlesá-h* 'das Haften, Kleben,' *çlešmā* 'klebriger Stoff, Schleim,' *çlīṣyati* 'hängt sich an, klammert sich an,' ON. *hrím* 'soot; rime,' OE. *hrim* 'rime, hoarfrost,' OLG. *hrīpo*, OHG. *hrifo* 'Reif,' etc. Cf. Color-Names 78 f. with lit.

4.26. *κιρρίς* 'a sea-fish' (Lat. *cīris* 'a fish,' or this may be cognate), named from its color: *κιρρός* 'tawny, orange-tawny,' *κιρρίς* 'έλδος ιέρακος Hes., named from the color, *κίρις* . . . *ὅρνεον* H., *κείρις* *ὅρνεον. ιέραξ* οι δὲ ἀλκυόνια H., *κείριδες* *ὅρνεα* H. (Lat. *cīris* 'a bird'). With these compare Ir. *cíar* 'dunkel,' OBulg. *sérū* 'glaucus,' OE. *hār* 'gray, hoary; old,' ON. *hárr* 'gray,' OHG. *hēr* 'hehr' (cf. Fick, III⁴, 88), root **kēi-*: Skt. *çiti-h* 'weiss,' *çyētā-h* (fem. *çyēnī*) 'grau, blau,' *çyenā-h* 'Adler, Falke, Habicht,' Gr. *ἰκτίνος* 'a kite,' *κτίς, ικτίς* 'marten, weasel,' ChSl. *sini* 'dunkelblau,' Lat. *caesius* 'bluish gray' (**kait-tio-*), ON. *heiðir* 'hawk,' Skt. *çyāmā-h* 'schwarz, dunkel,' *çyāvā-h* 'schwarzbraun, dunkel,' Lith. *szēmas* 'aschgrau, blaugrau, von Ochsen,' *szývas* 'weiss, schimmelicht, von Pferden,' ChSl. *sivū* OPruss. *sywan* 'grau,' OE. *hāwe* 'blue' (cf. author, Color-names 99 with lit.). To this group, with Prellwitz, we may add Gr. *ἰκτέρος* 'the jaundice; a bird of a yellowish green color,' Plin., *ἰκτέριας λίθος* 'a yellowish kind of stone,' Plin. With the base **i-kjero-* compare the forms with *r* above.

4.27. *κίχλη* 'a thrush; a sea-fish, so called from its color,' Epich. For meaning compare Lat. *turdus* 'a thrush: a sea-fish.'

4.28. *κόσσυφος*, Att. *κόττυφος* 'a bird like our blackbird (Arist. H. A.); a sea-fish, so called from its color,' *μελάγχρως κ.,* Numen. ap. Ath., perhaps from a base **(s)qotu-bho-* 'dark': Goth. *skadus* 'shadow,' Gr. *σκότος* 'darkness.'

4.29. *κομαρίς* 'a kind of fish,' Epich., probably of a red color:

κόμαρον 'the fruit of the arbutus' (bright scarlet in color), *κόμαρος* 'the strawberry-tree, arbutus.'

4.30. *λεπιδωτός* 'scaly, covered with scales, of the crocodile (Hdt. 2, 68), of fish (Arist. H. A.),' δ. λ. 'a fish of the Nile with large scales,' *λεπιδός* 'make scaly,' *λεπίς* 'scale, rind.' Cf. No. 3.28.

4.31. *λεύκος* 'a kind of fish,' Theocr. Com. Beren. 4, Arist. H. A., *λευκίσκος* 'the white mullet,' Hices. ap. Ath., *λευκός* 'white, bright,' *λυχνίσκος* 'a little light; a kind of fish,' Luc. Ver. H. 2, 30, *λύχνος* 'light, lamp,' **luqsnō-*, Skt. *rukṣá-h* 'glänzend,' Lat. *lucerna* 'lamp; a certain fish that shines in still nights,' Plin. 9, 27, 43. Here also *λυκόστομος* (whitemouth) 'a kind of anchovy,' Ael. N. A.

4.32. *μάργαρος* 'pearl-oyster,' *μάργαρον*, *μαργαρίτης* 'pearl' (Lat. *margarita*) are supposed to be of oriental origin: Skt. *mañja-ra-m*, *-ri-h*, *-ri* 'bouquet; panicle; pearl,' which Uhlenbeck, Ai. Wb. 210, refers to *mañjú-h* 'schön, lieblich, reizend.' The Greek words were probably associated with Gr. *μαρμαίρω* 'sparkle, gleam,' *μαῖρα* 'name of the dog-star, Sirius,' *μάρμαρα* 'λαμπτρά' Hes., etc.: Skt. *marici-h* 'ray of light, mirage.' Here may belong *μαρίνος* 'a kind of sea-fish,' Arist. H. A.

4.33. *μελαινás* 'a blackish fish,' *μελαινís* 'a kind of black shell-fish,' *μελάνορος* 'a sea-fish, the blacktail' (Lat. *melanurus*): *μέλας*, fem. *μέλαινα* 'black.' Cf. No. 4.34.

4.34. *μελάνδρυς* (black-beam) 'tunny-fish,' Ath. 121 B, τὰ *μελάνδρνα* 'a part of the tunny which was salted': *μέλας* + *δρῦς* 'the oak; any timber tree,' δόρυ 'tree, beam; shaft, spear,' etc.

4.35. *μύλλος*, *μύλος* 'mullet' (Lat. *mullus* 'red mullet, barbel'): Lat. *mulleus* 'red' (cf. Walde, Boisacq). Or cf. No. 1.54.

4.36. *μορμύρος* 'a sea-fish,' Arist. H. A., probably named from its color (Lat. *pictae mormyres* Ov. Hal. 110): *μαρμαίρω* 'sparkle, gleam.' Cf. No. 4.15.

4.37. *ξανθίας* 'a kind of tunny,' Ath.: *ξανθός* 'yellow, golden yellow, blond,' **qsan-dho-* 'rubbed, polished, bright': Gr. *ξαίνω* 'scratch, comb, card,' OHG. *hasan* 'politius,' *hasinōn*, *hasnōn* 'polire,' *hasinunga* 'linitio,' Lat. *cānus* 'gray, hoary,' Osc. *casnar* 'senex,' **qesā-*, *-e-*, *-eu-*: OBulg. *česati* 'kämmen;

streifen, abstreifen,' Lith. *kasýti* 'fortgesetzt gelinde kratzen,' MHG. *haseln* 'glätten,' *hasel* 'ein Fisch, *corvus*,' *heswe* 'blass, matt,' OE. *haso* (Germ. **haswa-*) 'gray,' Gr. ξυω 'scrape, plane, smooth, polish; make smooth or fine,' ξυστός 'smoothed, polished,' ξυθός 'yellowish, tawny; thin, delicate, fine' (λεπτός, ἀπαλός, ὁξύς Hes., Gramm.). Cf. Color-Names 79 f.

4.38. ὄνυξ 'nail, claw; a veined gem, onyx,' whence Lat. *onyx* 'a kind of yellowish marble; a yellowish precious stone, onyx: a muscle of the scallop species,' Plin. 32, 9, 32.

4.39. ὄρφος, Att. ὄρφως, dim. ὄρφιον 'a delicate sea-fish of the ἄφιη kind' (Lat. *orphus* 'a sea-fish, the gilt-head,' Plin. 32, 11, 54), ὄρφισκος 'a sea-fish, the κίχλη,' Pancrat. ap. Ath. 305 D: ὄρφνος 'dark, dusky,' ὄρφνιος 'a brownish gray; of a color between πορφύρεος and φοινίκινος,' Xen., Cyr. 8, 3, 3, OE. *earp*, *eorp*, OHG. *erpf* 'dusky, dark,' *rebahuon* 'Rebhuhn,' ChSl. *rebŭ* 'bunt, gesprenkelt.' Cf. Prellwitz², 339.

4.40. πάρδαλις, πόρδαλις 'the pard, leopard; a ravenous sea-fish, probably the speckled shark,' Ael. N. A., named from its color, as also the following phonetically related forms: πάρδαλος 'the pard; a gregarious bird, perhaps the starling,' πάρδιον 'an animal, perhaps the giraffe,' πέρδιξ 'partridge,' Skt. pŕdākuḥ 'adder, snake; tiger,' NPers. *palang* 'leopard,' primarily 'sprinkled, speckled': Gr. παρδακός, πορδακός 'wet, damp,' base **pere-d-* 'blow out, spout out, spurt, sprinkle,' to which belongs the group of Gr. πέρδομαι 'break wind.' Cf. author Color-Names 87. Compare the words in No. 4.42, which show the same development of meaning and are radically related.

4.41. πάγρος 'a kind of fish, supposed to be the same as φάγρος (No. 1.85) Arcad. 73, 17 (Lat. *pagrus*, *pager* 'a river-fish,' Plin. 32, 10, 38), probably a different word, named from its color and cognate with Lat. *pagur* 'a kind of fish,' described in Ov. Halieut. 108 as *rutilus*: Skt. *pajrá-h* 'glänzend, kräftig, feist,' *pājāḥ* 'Glanz, Kraft, Schnelligkeit,' Gr. πηγός 'white,' Lyc. 336, Call. Dian. 90, πηγόν: οἱ μὲν λευκόν, οἱ δὲ μέλαν Hes., identical with πηγός 'well put together, solid, strong,' base **pāg-* and **pāk-* 'fit together, fit': πήγνυμι, πήσσω 'fit together, fix; make solid,' Goth. *gafahrjan* 'prepare,' *fagrs* 'fitting,' OS. *fagar* 'fair, beautiful,' etc.

4.42. πάπραξ 'a Thracian lake-fish,' Hdt. 5, 16, πέρκη, περκίς,

περκίδιον 'a river-fish, the perch,' whence Lat. *perca* 'perch': Gr. *πέρκος*, *περκνός* 'dark-colored; a kind of eagle, a kind of hawk,' *περκάζω* 'turn dark,' *πρόξ* 'a kind of deer,' *πρόκας* 'έλαφος' Hes., *πρεκνόν* 'ποικιλόχροον ἔλαφον H., *πρακνόν* 'μέλανα' Hes., OHG. *forhana* 'Forelle,' Skt. *r̥̥cni-h* 'gesprenkelt, bunt, scheckig,' Gr. *πρώξ* 'a drop,' etc. Cf. Boisacq 773 f. with lit.

4.43. *ποικιλίας* 'a kind of fish,' Ath. 331 E: *ποικιλία* 'a marking with various colors,' *ποικίλος* 'many-colored, spotted, mottled, pied, dappled,' *ποικιλίς* 'a bird like a goldfinch,' *ποικιλλω* 'variegate, embroider; diversify; embellish,' etc., base **peik-* 'stick with a sharp instrument, stitch, embroider, mark with various colors.'

4.44. *πορφύρα* 'the purple-fish; purple dye, purple' (Lat. *purpura*), *πορφυρίων* 'a red-colored water-bird; a kind of whale; a polyp,' *πορφυρίς* 'a purple garment or covering; a red-colored bird,' *πορφύρεος* 'dark-red, purple.'

4.45. *σέλαχος* 'cartilaginous fish,' possibly named because of the phosphorescent light such fishes emit: *σέλας* 'light, brightness, flash.' But cf. No. 2.51.

4.46. *σκάρος* 'a sea-fish, Scarus Cretensis,' apparently meaning primarily 'streaked, striped,' as indicated by *σκαρίτης* 'a stone colored like the fish *σκάρος*,' Plin. 37, 72. Compare the same ablaut-form in ON. *skora* 'score, notch, incision,' *skora* 'cut a notch or notches, notch, score,' Gr. *σκάριφος* 'a pencil, stile; an outline, sketch,' *σκαρίφαομαι* 'scratch an outline, sketch lightly,' Lith. *skirti* 'cut, separate,' base **sger-* 'cut.' Cf. No. 1.65. The *σκάρος* was also called *όνιας*, apparently from its color. Cf. No. 2.35.

4.47. *σκέπανος*, *σκέπινος* 'a fish of the tunny kind, *umbra*': *σκέπανον* 'a covering,' *σκεπανός* 'sheltered, sheltering,' *σκέπη*, *σκέπας* 'covering, shelter,' *σκεπάω* 'cover, shelter.'

4.48. *σκίανα* (Arist. H. A.), *σκινίς*, *-ίδος* (Galen.), *σκιαδεύς* (Numen. ap. Ath.), *σκιαθίς* *-ίδος* (Epich.) 'a sea-fish': *σκιᾶ* 'shade, shadow,' *σκιάς* 'anything serving as a shade,' *σκιάζω* 'shade, overshadow, darken,' *σκιαρός*, *σκιερός* 'shady; dark-colored.'

4.49. *στρωματεύς* 'the coverlet of a bed, usually of patch-

work: a flat fish marked with divers colors,' Philo ap. Ath. 322 A, *στρῶμα* 'anything spread out for lying or sitting upon,' *στρώνυμ*, *στόρνυμ* 'spread out.'

4.50. *χαλκεύς* 'a coppersmith; a sea-fish with a black spot behind,' Opp. H., *χαλκίς* 'a black mountain bird of prey; a fish, of which one kind lived in the sea, another in rivers; a lizard with copper-colored stripes on the back,' Arist. H. A., *χαλκιδική* 'a copper-colored lizard; the fish *χαλκίς*,' *χαλκός*, 'copper, bronze, brass,' *χάλκεος* 'of copper or bronze, brazen,' etc. These are probably from **ghl-gho*, reverse deaspiration: *χάλκη*, *κάλχη* 'the purple limpet, *πορφύρα*; purple dye; a kind of herb of purple color,' *καλχαίνω* (agitate) 'revolve in one's mind, consider, weigh; be in doubt, waver, be troubled *ἀμφί τινι*; desire eagerly; *pass.* be purple': OBulg. *želězo*, Lith. *gel(e)žis* 'iron,' etc. (cf. Boisacq 1049 with lit.): **ghel-* 'move excitedly, shake; shout, scream; glitter, shimmer,' Skt. *galbhatē* 'ist mutig,' ON. *gjalfr* 'Lärm, Brausen, Gebell,' *gjalpa* 'brausen, plätschern,' MHG. *gelfen* 'bellen, schreien, übermütig sein,' *gelfe* 'Glanz, Pracht,' OHG. *gelph* 'lebhaft, übermütig, lustig, fröhlich; von hell glänzender Farbe, glänzend, strahlend,' Lith. *geltas* 'fahlgelb,' *gélē* 'Gelbeucht,' OBulg. *žlütü* 'gelb,' Lat. *fel* 'gall,' etc. For many other words with the same change in meaning see Color-Names 10 ff., and especially 35 ff. for this group.

4.51. *χελιδόνιας* 'a kind of tunny-fish (Diphil. ap. Ath.); also a serpent,' named from the color: *χελιδόνιος* 'like the swallow, esp. colored like the swallow's throat,' *χελιδών* 'the swallow; the flying-fish,' so called from the general resemblance to the swallow on the wing.

4.52. *χρυσοκέφαλος* 'with golden head, epithet of a fish,' Phryn. Tragoed. 2 (Lat. *chrýsocephalus* 'a golden basilisk,' App. Herb. 128), *χρυσός* 'gold, gold coin; vessel of gold, gold-plate; *a gold-colored fish' (Lat. *chrýsos* 'gold; a gold-colored fish,' Plin. 32, 11, 54), *χρυσοφρυς* 'with golden eyebrows: a sea-fish with a golden spot over each eye, *Sparus aurata*,' Epich. (Lat. *chrýsophrys* Ov. Hal. 110), *χρυσῶπις* (golden-faced) 'epithet of Latona; of fishes,' Poet. ap. Ath., *χρυσωπός* 'with a golden face, gold-colored; a fish, *χρυσοφρυς*,' Plut. Sull. 2, 977 E,

χρύσαφος 'a kind of fish, perhaps the gilthead,' Marcel. Sidet. 12, *χρύσάφιον*, dim. of *χρυσός*, Eust. 492, 36.

4.53. *ψόρος*, name of an unknown fish, Numen. ap. Ath., also *ψύρος*. Primary meaning probably 'scaly, rough': *ψωρός* 'scabby, mangy, itchy,' *ψώρα* 'itch, scab, mange,' *ψαιρω* 'touch lightly, graze,' *ψῆν* 'rub.'

(*To be concluded.*)

FRANCIS A. WOOD.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

BREVITY AS A CRITERION OF LANGUAGE

This study is a further elaboration of the problem outlined by Prof. Collitz in his recent article where the world language question is dealt with rather from the philosophical than from the philological point of view.¹ Guérard's book² gives more attention to the philological side, but is more descriptive than analytical. In addition to the numerous (often very fantastic) attempts at a universal language, mentioned by Collitz and discussed more fully by Guérard, there have been several new attempts, not listed by him.³

The survey of these efforts shows that Esperanto together with its offshoot, Ido, are the best practical attempts thus far achieved. In going over the various arguments in favor of and against Esperanto I found that the evaluation of languages, either artificial or naturally evolved ones, as to their merits to be used as an international means of communication in the present and in the future, has not been placed on a concrete basis which would be in harmony with the present-day tendencies of human endeavor.

The criterion set up by Jespersen and quoted by Collitz: *The best auxiliary international language is that which in all points*

¹ *Language*, 2. 1. 1-13.

² Albert Léon Guérard, *A short history of the international language movement*, N. Y. 1921, with a very complete bibliography. For more bibliographical details consult the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, XII, 11 (November, 1908).

³ *Gab*, by W. J. Cuthbertson, San Francisco, 1919, *Universal Language*, by W. Edgerly, 1919, *Master Language*, by S. C. Houghton, San José, Calif., 1919, *Nula*, by C. C. Haskell, Corry, Pa., 1922, *Qōsmiani*, by W. M. L. Beatty, Washington, D. C., 1922, *Hom-Idyomo*, by C. Cárdenas, Leipzig, 1923, *De toito spike*, by Elias Molee, Tacoma, Wash., 1923, *Natural Universal Language*, by E. J. Elsas, Kansas City, Kans., and *Esperido*, invented by a Voluntary Tithing propagandist of Kalamazoo, Mich., 1923. An example of Volapük, one of the most successful of the now dead attempts at a synthetic language, may be of interest: *Volapük binom jönükün e nefikulikün pükas valik*—‘Volapük is the prettiest and easiest of all languages.’ Among the most fantastic products is Ru-Ro, in which *Awar ek hel ivab difit* stands for ‘Who stole my hat?’

offers the greatest ease to the greatest number of people, seems to me, as it does to Collitz, very inadequate. What is "the greatest ease to the greatest number of people?" We need a more definite formula. The spirit of the present age unquestionably tends toward brevity⁴ and speed, combined with accuracy and clearness. Hence the criterion by which languages aspiring to the position of international (or auxiliary) languages will have to be judged, could, on these premises, be formulated thus: *The best international (auxiliary) language is that which can express most ideas in the briefest way, clearly and accurately, by means of an easy articulation.*⁵

For the purpose of testing the various languages in this respect I used

- I. Two brief sentences constructed on a definite principle.
- II. A piece of connected prose to test out the results obtained on the basis of the two sentences. This test was undertaken only after I had obtained the results in test I.

In each of the two sentences six general ideas were to be expressed: in a simple manner in the first sentence, and in a more complicated manner in the second. In the first sentence:

I SEE A GOOD MAN'S HAND

there was an agent (*kartṛi*), an action (*kriyā*), a thing acted upon (*karman*), modified by the possessor (4), modified by a descriptive adjective (5), and made indefinite (6).

In the second sentence:

I CAN RUN BETTER THAN MY FATHER

there was again an agent (1), whose action (2), was compared with the ability (3) of another agent (4), related to the first

⁴ H. W. Fowler, *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, Oxford, 1926, p. 331, *Long variants*, and p. 333, *Love of the long word*: 'It need hardly be said that shortness is a merit in words . . . short words are not only handier to use, but more powerful in effect; extra syllables reduce, not increase, vigour.'

⁵ A number of suggestions on this point were made in the *Memorandum on the problem of an international language*, *Rom. Review*, 16.3. (1925), 244-256, signed by Sapir, Bloomfield, Boas, Gerig, Krapp. See also Horatio Hale, *Language as a test of mental capacity*, *Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, 9 (1891), 77-112.

agent by a possessive adjective (5), and a higher degree of ability was to be expressed (6).

In English the first sentence requires 6 syllables, the second 9, a total of 15 syllables for six general ideas in each case. In order to put English at the greatest disadvantage I used *better* instead of the more logical *faster*,⁶ for in the latter case English could use the verb *outrun* reducing the number of syllables to 7, or a total of 13, while in Italian *più presto*, in Spanish *más aprisa*, in Russian *skoryéye*, would place these languages at an unfair disadvantage with regard to English.

In order to obtain a "maximum of internationality" which the Idists have set up for themselves as a goal (though unfortunately only on the basis of six languages, all of them Indo-European, or, rather, European), I prepared with the help and advice of a number of fellow-linguists,⁷ translations of the two sentences into 72 languages belonging to the most important linguistic families, selecting especially such as have some right to recognition on account of being or having been the vehicles of cultural movements within man's written history on earth.

Indo-European.

GERMANIC:	Gothic: *	Ik saíhwa handu mans gōdis Ik kann rinnan batizo þau atta meins
	West Saxon:	Ic sēo gōdes mannes hand Ic mœg bet irnan ðonne min fæder
	Icelandic:	Ek sé ens góða manns hond Ek kann hlaupa betr enn faðir minn

* This version I kept in the Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Armenian and Avestan in the IE family. It will be noted that some languages omit either 'can,' or 'my,' these concepts being understood, and yet require a larger number of syllables.

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* The second sentence offered some difficulty with regard to *batizo*. Instead of *þau atta meins* it was suggested to use *attin meinamma*.

Dutch:	Ik zie eens goeden mans hand
German:	Ik kan beter loopen dan mijn vader Ich sehe eines guten Mannes Hand Ich kann besser laufen als mein Vater
Swedish:	Jag ser en god människas hand Jag kan springa bättre än min far
Danish-Norw.:	Jeg ser en god mands haand Jeg kan løbe betre end min fader
ROMANCE:	Latin: ⁹
	Vīrī bōnī mānūm vīdēō
	Mēliūs pātrē mēō cūrrere pōssūm
Italian:	Vedo la mano d'un buon uomo
	Posso correre meglio che mio padre
Spanish:	Veo la mano de un buen hombre
	Puedo correr mejor que mi padre
Portuguese:	Vejo a mão d'um bon homem
	Posso correr melhor que o meu pāe
Catalan:	Veig la ma de un bon home
	Puch correr millor que mon pare
French:	Je vois la main d'un homme bon
	Je peux courrir mieux que mon père
Rumanian:	Vēd māna unui om bun
	Pot sa fug mai bine decât tatāl meu
SLAVONIC:	OSl.:
	Viždā rākā dobriego člověka
	Mogā běžati lučiše ot moiego otīca
Bulgarian:	Viždam rākata na jedin dobrūr čověk
	Moga da běgam po-dobrě ot moja bašta
Ukrainian:	Vídžu ruku dobrago čolověka
	Možu bigti lipše vid mogo bafka
Russian:	Vížu ruku dobravo čelověka
	Mogú běžať lučše čem moj otěc

⁹ Watson Kirkconnell, *Linguistic Laconicism*, *AJP*, 48, 1 (1927), 36, makes an observation which is especially true of the Romance languages: "It would seem that the syllabic reduction due to inflectional decay may for a time be more than counter-balanced by the syllabic increase due to the use of particles and prepositions."

Serbo-Croat:	¹⁰ (Ja) vidim dobrog čoveka ruku (Ja) mogu trčati bolje nego moj otac
Slovenian:	(Jaz) vidim roko dobrega človeka (Jaz) morem teći bolje kakor moj oče
Polish:	Widzę rękę dobrego człowieka Mogę bieżeć lepiej niż mój ojciec
Slovak:	Vidím ruku dobrého človeka Možem bežať lepšie nežli môj otec
Czech:	Vidím ruku dobrého člověka Mohu běžet(i) lépe než můj otec
BALTO-SLAVIC:	Lithuanian: Aš matau gero žmogaus ranką Aš galiu bėgti geriau nei mano tėvas
CELTIC:	Mod. Irish: Khím láv fhīr vah Is feidir liom ri nios fearr ná m'ahair
	Mod. Welsh: Mi gwelaf llaw dyn da Mi medraf rhedeg gwell na fy nhad
ARMENIAN:	Mod. Armenian: Pari martu mu tzerku gu desnem Hormes aveli arak gurnam vazel
GREEK:	OGreek: Ὁρῶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός Δύναμαι τρέχειν κάλλιον τοῦ πατρός Mod. Greek: Βλέπω τὴν χεῖρα ἐνὸς καλοῦ ἀνθρώπου Δύναμαι νὰ τρέχω καλλίτερα τοῦ πατρός μου
INDO-IRANIAN:	Sanskrit: ¹¹ Sato narasya hastam paśyāmi Aham pituḥ śreyo dhāvitum śaknomi Avestan: Varjhēuš narahe zastam pasyāmi Piθrat jīrōtarām tačāmi Mod. Persian: Man ḏast-é mard-e-kkvub-é rā mī- bīnam Man az padaram behtar mī-davam

¹⁰ The words or letters in brackets here and elsewhere in the versions may be omitted.

¹¹ The second sentence presents some difficulties in the Indo-Iranian; the most idiomatic version seems to be: 'I run faster than my father': 'Aham pituḥ ūghratarām dhāvāmi.'

Urdu: ¹²	Main naik mard-kā dast nazar kartā Main apne bāp-se achchhā daur saktā
Hindi:	Main achchhe ādmī-kā hāth dektā (hūn) Main apne pitā-se achchhā daur saktā (hūn)
Punjabi:	Main ēk changē ādmī-dā hāth wekhdā hān Main āpne bāpu-ton tēj bhaj sakdā hān
Bengali:	Ami ēkti bhāla lōkēr hāth dēkhi Ami amār pitā-haitē bhāla dauraitē pāri
Gypsy:	Dikav vastes manushesko lasho Nashav feder sar mro dadt
Dravidian.	
Tamil: ¹³	Nalla manidanin kai kkāngidrēn En tagappanin ūdalil ennin ūdal nalladu
Kanarese:	Wobba ollē munishyē-na kai-yennu nodutēne Nānna tandēg-inta nānu chennāgi odutēne
Semito-Hamitic.	
Hebrew:	Raithī eth ha-yad iš tōb Yakholtī la-rūtz tōb me-avī
Ethiopian:	'Erē'i 'eda b'eši ḥēr Taḥayalkū bamaridō 'emma 'abūya
Class. Arabic:	Arā-l-yada ražulin ṭayyibin Aqdaru an ažrī aḥsan min abī
Egypt. Arabic:	Arā-l-íd betā' rāgil ṭayyib Aqdar agrī aḥsan min abūye
Old Egyptian:	m ³ .y drt s'nfr rh.y shs m h ³ w ytf.y

¹² I have adopted certain differences in the vocabulary, though some of my informants gave me identical versions both for Urdu and Hindi.

¹³ The second sentence reads: 'With regard to my father's running my running is better.'

Coptic:	ጥናይ መቶዕጥቅ ካሸዋወመ መናኖግቅ ኦሂን-ዶሙ ምሙዕ ማወጥ ይ- ሮጥ ማልወወጥ
Tuareg: ¹⁴	Hâ nnejey ዋሁስ እለስ ፈን ሃልያዙን Eddûbiy ed ahley ቅግሬይ ታ አዛል Ar t ^{em} nidey afus ንያ urgaz ifulkîn Zdârey attazâley ugg ^u ar n bâba
Chleuhs:	Ikustendet guison on baten escua Aita baño ariñao jun neike
Basque ¹⁵	
Caucasian	Georgian:
	Me vkhédaw khels erthi kargi katsisas Me shemidzlia rbena ukethésad vidre mama tchems
Bantu	
	Suahili: ¹⁶
	Ni na kw-on-a mkono mwa mtu mwena 3ab'angu nami naku činda ku kimbia
Ural-Altaic ¹⁷	
	Magyar:
	Látom egy jó ember kezét Jobban tudoh futni mint apám
	Finnish: ¹⁸
	Näen hyvän miehen käden Juoksen paremmin kuin isäni
	Turkish:
	Bir eyi ademin elini giororum Bir pederimden (dahā) eyi seyirde biliorum

¹⁴ The γ stands for the Arabic *ghain*.

¹⁵ The second sentence reads: 'Father but faster go I can.' For 'to run' the loan word *corrika* would have to be used.

¹⁶ The second sentence reads: 'My father and I, I excel in running,' which is the normal construction. A literal translation would be: *Bab'angu nami nakueza kučinda ku kimbia*.

¹⁷ I prefer this term as it is more comprehensive than the divisions given in Meillet-Cohen's *Les langues du monde*, Paris, 1924, and the grouping shows the relationship of these languages with the Indo-Chinese. The cognate Dravidian group, which should have preceded, was placed after the IE group for geographical reasons.

¹⁸ The second sentence reads: 'I run better than my father.'

Mongolian:	Bi sain khümün-ü gar-i üjemüü Bi echige - echegen sain güyüjü chidamui
Korean: ¹⁹	Ne-ka chohün salam-üi son-ül po-aso Ne-ka ne abüji podam chotke tannül su-isso
Japanese:	Watakushi-wa ii hito-no te-wo mi- masu Watakushi-wa watakushi-no chichi yori hayaku hashirare-masu
Indo-Chinese	
Tibetan:	Nga mi yag-po-hi lag-pa mthong-ki- ḥdug Nga ngas pa-pa las yag-ka ḥgyunṣ yod-thub
Burmese: ²⁰ (literary)	nā-thī kaung thaw lū-i let-ko myin- thī nā-thī apá tét lyin-myan-swā pyé naïn-thī
Chinese:	Wo kien hao jen chih shu Wo kiao wo fu shan tsou
Siamese:	Chan hean mua kong kon de Chan ving rea kwa pida kong chan
Anamite:	Tōi thây cai tay môt ngu'ò'i tôt Tōi chay ðu'ò'c mau ho'n bô tōi
Malayo-Polynesian	
Malay: ²¹	Sa(ha)ya lihat tangan (sa) orang baik Sa(ha)ya buleh berlari lebeh baik daripada bapa-sa(ha)ya
Malagasy:	Mahita ny tanan-dehilahy tsara aho Mahazo mihazakazaka tsara nohon'ny raiko aho

¹⁹ Instead of *Ne-ka* one may use *Na-nün*.

²⁰ The colloquial (shorter) forms are: *nā lū kaung let-ko myin-thī*, and *nā apé tét apié than-thī*.

²¹ The literary, or High Malay forms, would be: *Aku mēlihat tangan (sē-orang) orang jang baik*, and *Aku dapat lari lēkas daripada bapa-ku*.

Tagalog:	Makikita ko ang kamay nañg mabuting tao Mabuti akong tumakbo kay sa aking ama
Ilocano:	Makítak ti ima diay nasayaat a tao Nadaradarasak ñga agtaray ñgem ni tatang
Bishaya:	Nakita ko ang kamot sang mayo ñga tao Makadalagan ako marmadasig pa kay tatay
Hawaiian:	Ike au i ka lima o ke kanaka maikai Hiki no wau ke holo a oi aku mamua o ku'u makuakane

American Indian

Quechua:	Allin runa-p maqui-ta ricuni Yaya-y manta yallispa purini
Maya: ²²	Kin huilic u gab ti humpel utz uinic Kin palal alcab malob yetel in tab ma
Nahuatl:	Ni quitta in ima ce qualli tlácatl Achi qualli nic-cholloa ihuan amo no ta
Navaho:	Diné nijóń bílā' yic' i, Cíjé' bílá·'gò díncywò'
Menomini:	Wéskiw-inän̄w unäh ninämuwaw Ninah winah apä·sik ninähkīhki· tam kan winah nōhne

ESPERANTO

Ido	Me vidas manuo di bona viro Me povas kurar plu bone kam mea patrulo
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The foregoing results show that within the IE family English, Danish, French and modern Celtic have the greatest tendency toward brevity; and if we admit the verb *outrun* in the second sentence English appears as the briefest. The Germanic group

²² In Maya, Nahuatl and Menomini the versions read: 'I can run faster, not my father.' Cf. the Slavonic *ně-že-li*, *než-li*, *než*.

as a whole shows the greatest tendency toward economy. This tendency follows a NW direction from the *Urheimat*, not only in the IE family as a whole, but likewise within the various groups; cf. Czech in the Slavonic, French in the Romance, English in the Germanic, Irish (Welsh) in the Celtic. It does not seem to be an inherent quality, but an acquired one, mainly as a result of two causes:

1. Climatic conditions, tending to bring about a desire for economy which is then reflected in the language as a permanent trait.²³

2. The social evolution from autocracy to democracy and the resulting omission of honorifics, stereotyped phrases, and deprecatory terms. Expressions like *Váševo Prevoskhodítělſta pokornýšij póddannyj*, *Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant*, *de Votre Excellence très humble serviteur*, *Euer Hochwohlgeboren unterthänigster und gehorsamster Diener*, *Vaševo Vysokoblahorodí nejponíženější služebníček*, *de Vuestra Merced muy atento y seguro servidor que su mano besa*, etc., are replaced by *Vam prédannyj*, *Yours truly*, *Bien à vous*, *Ihr ergebener*, *Vám oddaný*, *de V. sincero*, etc. The striving for brevity is a striving for perfection by clipping off everything cumbersome. The result is greater accuracy and freedom of expression. Within the Semitic family the Hebrew, and within the Ural-Altaic the Magyar are the examples of a similar tendency. The least economical of all linguistic families is the Malayo-Polynesian, together with some of the Ural-Altaic tongues which may be akin to it in vocabulary,²⁴ and some American Indian languages. This does not of course exclude the possibility of instances where these languages may be able to achieve a greater brevity than English.²⁵

²³ Prof. Kirkconnell suggests the 'great stress shift' in Teutonic as a contributing cause.

²⁴ A. Neville J. Whymant, *The Oceanic Theory of the Origin of the Japanese Language and People*, in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, second series, 3, 15-81, gives many examples. While I believe that anthropologically the majority of the Japanese are of Malay origin and that in the vocabulary their language shows many affinities with the Malayo-Polynesian, its grammatical structure is clearly akin to the Korean and cognate languages.

²⁵ Examples of this may be found in Boas, *Handbook of American*

Test I establishes the superiority of English and French when the criterion of brevity, together with accuracy, clearness and ease of enunciation is applied. The difficult tonal qualities of the Chinese rule it out of the contest.²⁶

For test II the Lord's Prayer was chosen as the most convenient.²⁷ Only such examples were selected as were necessary for checking up the results of test I, with regard to the superiority of English and French. Owing to slight variations of some of the versions discrepancies are found in the number of syllables. Prof. Kirkconnell's figures for the Gospel of Matthew in the main coincide with my results.²⁸

GERMANIC

English	67-72	29,000
Icelandic	79	31,000
Danish	80	30,000
German	82	33,000
Swedish	85	35,000
Dutch	86	34,000
Anglo-Saxon	90	35,000
Gothic	96	

ROMANCE

French	72-75	36,000
Spanish	99	39,000

Indian Languages. Example of it in Japanese: *Fune aredomo hito naku; hito aru mo kikai nakariki*—‘Though we had ships, we had no men; and even if we had had the men, we had no machinery,’ 21 and 24 syllables respectively. This is often due to the Chinese words in the Japanese vocabulary. In the second sentence I adopted the shorter literary *hashirare-masu* for the colloquial *hashiru koto ga deki-masu*.

²⁶ When an older or a superior person is addressed the ‘I’ becomes di-syllabic (*hsiao shêng* for *wo*).

²⁷ Very complete collections are available in *Mithridates*, oder Allgemeine Sprachenkunde, mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe fünfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten; and Auer, *Sprachhalle*, oratio dominica oder das Vater Unser in DCCLXII Sprachen, Vienna, 1844-47.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 34-35, where he quotes results obtained by Tegnér and Jespersen. These are also quoted by E. H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change*, pp. 173-5, in the paragraph dealing with ‘Economy.’ The figure given for Gothic—31,000—seems too low.

ROMANCE		
Latin	102	39,000
Portuguese.....	96-106	42,000
Italian	106-112	41,000
Rumanian	115	44,000
SLAVONIC		
Czech	78	33,000
Polish	86	35,000
Russian	89	34,000
Slovenian	89	
Serbo-Croat.	90	39,500
Ukrainian ²⁹	91	32,500
OSlavonic.....	92	
Bulgarian	102	39,500
BALTO-SLAVIC		
Lithuanian.....	87	39,500
CELTIC		
Mod. Irish.....	80	38,000

Albanian: 97 and 42,750, Old Greek: 117 and 39,000, Mod. Greek: 125 and 39,000, Arabic: 99, Magyar: 105, Hawaiian: 175, Cherokee: 179, Chinook: 134, Japanese: 143 or 125, when omitting the six instances of the honorific *tamae*, Chinese: 67 and 40 (in a poetic version), Esperanto and Ido: 100, Neo Latin-Universal: 73.

Test II corroborates the results of test I in its general conclusions. From it, as well as from Prof. Kirkconnell's figures, it would appear that the Slavonic group shows a greater tendency to brevity than the Romance, while the results of test I would seem to place the Romance group ahead of the Slavonic. The synalepha factor in Romance may be of some influence here; the general conclusions, however, remain unaffected.

Turning now to Esperanto and Ido in the light of the foregoing tests, we find that they would rank approximately with their naturally evolved counterparts, the Malayan and the Suahili. The point wherein they both fail, namely brevity, is

²⁹ It is unlikely that Ruthenian (Ukrainian) should be shorter than Czech, and that Russian should average only 34,000.

the result of the clumsiness of their vocabulary. Esperanto has achieved certain advantages in brevity: the correlatives (*iom* = somewhat),³⁰ certain verbal forms without auxiliary verbs (*audinta* = having heard, *skribota* = about to be written), and adverbial expressions (*samtempe* = at the same time). But on the other hand, nearly every word in its vocabulary must have one letter—which means also one syllable—more than the corresponding English or German word: *šipo*, for ‘ship,’ *kelnero*, for ‘Kellner.’ There are very few instances where, in words of Latin derivation, it shows a saving of one or more syllables: *akceli* for ‘accelerate,’ *abomena* for ‘abominable,’ *helpa-lingvo* for ‘auxiliary language.’ Where it fails completely is in terms built on a rigid principle:

<i>malproksime</i>	far
<i>mallonga</i>	short
<i>malgranda</i>	small
<i>malkara</i>	cheap
<i>maljuna</i>	old
<i>maltrafi</i>	to miss
<i>armoracio</i>	horse-radish
<i>militistaro</i>	army
<i>varmege</i>	hot

In this respect Ido has made some improvement replacing the above words by: *kurta*, *fore*, *mikra*, *olda*, *chipa*, *mankar*, *rafano*, *armeo*. But it leaves *varmeka* and adorns its vocabulary by monsters of the following kind:

<i>sinistra</i>	left
<i>zezeear</i>	to lisp
<i>rafaneto</i>	radish (Esperanto has: <i>rafano</i>)
<i>infanteto</i>	baby (Esperanto has: <i>infaneto</i>)
<i>kur-konkursar</i>	to race
<i>roto-tormento</i>	rack
<i>farmo-lugar</i>	to lease
<i>la parkala pordego</i>	park gate
<i>gazono</i>	grass (Esperanto has: <i>herbo</i>)
<i>scribachar</i>	to scrawl
<i>klef-agar</i>	to lock
<i>nigrokula, loklohara purueleto</i>	dark-eyed, curly-haired boy

“The Idists, strange to say, found them ugly.

which can hardly be considered as an improvement despite the fact that Ido "has been formed by the united efforts of many distinguished philologists in many countries, and has involved over seven years' work."

While Esperanto does fail when tested by the number of syllables, its advantages, mentioned before, make up in a measure for its defects when it comes to counting the letters required to put these many syllables into type. The following combinations may occur:

1. Esperanto may have, in rare cases, a smaller number of syllables and letters.

<i>Mi devis skribi</i>	5-13	I ought to have written	6-19
<i>Mi deviĝis skribi leteron</i>	9-22	I have been obliged to write a letter	10-30

2. Number of syllables same, number of letters nearly same:

<i>Mi jus estis skribonta</i>	7-19	I was just about to write	7-20
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3. Number of syllables larger, number of letters nearly the same (the normal case):

<i>Mi sendube legis la libron</i>	9-22	I must have read the book	6-20
<i>Mi iris al vilaĝo hodiaŭ</i>		I shall go to the village	
<i>kun mia plej juna</i>		today with my younger	
<i>fratrino</i>	19-42	sister	15-44
<i>Mi volas doni beletan</i>		I want to give a pretty	
<i>donacon al mia plej</i>		present to my youngest	
<i>juna fratrino morgaŭ</i>	22-52	sister tomorrow	18-54
<i>Mi povus vidi la ŝipojn</i>		I could have seen the	
<i>en la haveno, se mi</i>		ships in the harbor if I	
<i>estus posedinta bonan</i>		had had a good glass	17-52
<i>lornon</i>	25-58		

Here English shows plainly its greatest handicap, the spelling. Nevertheless, its greater economy in time and effort needs no proof in such phrases as: Dear Sir—*Kara Sinjoro*, I send you some samples—*mi adresas al vi kelkajn specimenojn*, tramcars—*tramveturiloj*, a week ago—*antaŭ unu semajno*, a few years ago—*Antaŭ malmultaj jaroj*, go slower—*iru pli malrapide*, I am near you—*mi estas proksime de vi*, allow her to speak—*permesu al ŝi ke ŝi parolu*, I shall buy well-made gloves—*mi aĉetos bene-*

faritajn gantojn, I never buy cheap books—*mi neniam aĉetas malkarajn librojn*, if two red men met—*se du ruĝhautulojn renkontiĝis*, I woo a girl—*mi amindumas knabinon*.

In telephonic conversations, especially at long distance, where the factor of time has to be considered, the number of syllables becomes more important than in writing.³¹ Rapid habits of speech may of course compensate to a certain extent the discrepancy in syllables; absolute accuracy could only be obtained in the laboratory of a phonetician who would undertake a comparative study of this nature.

Approximate tests made on the basis of passages selected at random showed that on an average English equivalents of Esperanto texts represented 10-12% saving in time necessary for a clear and easy enunciation, provided the speaker commanded about the same facility of pronouncing the two languages. Example:

Sendube vin surprizos ricevi leteron skribitan de mi ĉe hotelo en ĉi tiu urbo, ne tre malproksime de via propria oficejo. Pri la demando, ĉu Esperanto estas vivanta lingvo, mia ideo estas, ke kiam certa nombro da personoj ĝin parolas facile kaj nature, ĝi jam fariĝis vivanta.

98 syll., 222 letters, 19 seconds.

No doubt it will surprise you to get a letter written by me in a hotel in this same city, not very far from your own office. As to the question if Esperanto is a living tongue, my idea is that when a certain number of persons speak it easily and naturally, it has already been made living.³²

82 syll., 227 letters, 16-17 sec.³³

³¹ Trans-Atlantic conversations cost \$25 a minute, with a three-minute minimum charge.

³² This is doubtful. Henry Sweet in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, IX, 774, says: 'Either Esperanto must be taken as it is without change, or else it must crumble to pieces; its failure to work out consistently the principle of the maximum of internationality for its root-words is alone enough to condemn it as hopelessly antiquated.' J. Vendryes, *Language*, p. 162: 'What are we to think, then, of artificial languages built upon a logical plan erected in advance? Such languages are only possible as special languages—technical languages or signal codes. The agreement of the few people who use such languages suffices to maintain them unchanged. But it would not do for these languages to become living tongues for then they would quickly suffer change.'

To sum up: on the basis of the foregoing tests Esperanto and Ido fail when it comes (1) to the number of syllables and (2) the time necessary for their enunciation, in order to express ideas in the briefest way,³⁴ clearly and accurately. It also appears that (3) among the naturally evolved languages English and French are the best fitted for the role of international auxiliary languages.³⁵

Arabs and Chinamen with whom I discussed Esperanto said that while the grammar was comparatively easy,³⁶ the memorizing of the vocabulary required as much time as that of English or French. The Arabs preferred the latter, the Chinese the former.³⁷ The polysyllabic character of their language makes

H. C. Wyld, *Historical study of the mother tongue*, London, 1926, pp. 105-109, shares this opinion and adds that changes in pronunciation would make Esperanto unintelligible. Guérard, *op. cit.*, p. 40: 'An international language should be as impersonal as a code—an impossible requisite for anything that wishes to become living. The best answer to this may be found in *Die sprachphilosophischen Werke Wilhelm's von Humboldt*, Berlin, 1884, p. 493: 'Eine solche wirkliche Sprache kann es nun glücklicherweise unter immer doch denkenden und empfindenden Menschen nicht geben.'

³⁴ If 'receive,' 'whether,' and 'language' (instead of 'get,' 'if,' and 'tongue') are used the figures would be: 86 syll., 238 letters, 17 seconds.

³⁵ Excessive brevity may lead to ruggedness (cf. Kirkeconnell, *op. cit.*, 36), but often uncouth effects are produced by uncouth spelling. The Russian proverb борщ и кашица пища наша (chowder and gruel (are) our food), when transliterated thus: *borschtsch i kascha pischtscha nascha* looks indeed uncouth, but it is chiefly the spelling that makes it so. When written: *Boršč i kaša pišča naša* it looks much less formidable. To a Russian the letter ї does not convey the idea of *schtch*, but of one letter and one sound, not at all difficult to pronounce. Cf. also Bloomfield and Bolling: *What symbols shall we use*, *Language* 3. 2. 123-129.

³⁶ They both represent a natural fusion of the Latin, Celtic and Germanic elements, with the Latin predominating in French, and the Germanic in English. A similar fusion could hardly be ever accomplished artificially.

³⁷ Guérard, *op. cit.*, p. 34, thinks that English grammar is simpler than that of Esperanto.

³⁸ Dr. Harvey J. Howard while held prisoner by a troop of bandits in China made a bargain with them that he should teach them as many words in English as they taught him in Chinese. 'This reciprocal arrangement soon developed into a memory test in which I quickly found them my superiors.'

Esperanto popular among the Japanese,³⁸ but when they speak it their pronunciation of it is as bad as their pronunciation of English. Because of its vocabulary Esperanto naturally appeals to the Italians, Spaniards and Portuguese, and its popularity in Central Europe may be partly a reminiscence of the reasons summarized by Münsterberg, some of which are no longer true.³⁹

While I am not opposed to the work of the Esperanto and Ido enthusiasts, I must conclude that even the best artificial language cannot successfully compete with the naturally evolved ones.⁴⁰ It is safe to assume that within the next five hundred years English and French will achieve such perfection as no artificial form of language can ever hope to achieve.⁴¹

A. R. NYKL.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY.

³⁸ Examples from *Interparolado kaj vortaro japana-esperanta-hina kaj angla*: I can speak English a little—Wo nong shuo ih tien ying kuo hua—Watakushi-wa ei-go-ga sukoshi hanase-masu—Mi povas paroli ion anglan lingvon—Je peux parler anglais un peu.

³⁹ Hugo Münsterberg, *American Problems*, N. Y., 1910, article on "The World Language," p. 214: 'No living language can become to-day the vehicle of intercourse for the whole civilized world. . . . The acceptance of any language would immediately not only crush the pride of the other nations, but would give to the favored people such an enormous advantage in the control of the political world and such immeasurable preference in the world's market that no nation would consent to it before its downfall.' P. 215: 'National pride would justly put English on the blacklist.' An echo of this superstition is found in Guérard, *op. cit.*, p. 44: 'So it seems safe to prophesy that French, for one, will never yield pride of place to English, without a fight,' though on pp. 25-26 he tries hard to prove that French is neither convenient nor beautiful, a strange thesis for a Frenchman to maintain.

⁴⁰ The League of Nations has recognized this in the following report: 'The Commission on Intellectual Co-operation does not dispute the practical advantages that the adoption of a universal auxiliary language would have, but it considers that its efforts should be before all things to encourage the study of living languages and foreign literature, etc.'

⁴¹ Esperanto cannot express briefly positional meanings of homonyms, one of the finest qualities of English: I saw Will. I will do it. He made his last will. She has a strong will. *Mi vidis Vilelmon. Mi faros gin. Li faris sian lastan testamenton. Si estas multe obstina.*

JUVENALIANA

VI 589. plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum;
quae nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum
consulit ante falas delphinorumque columnas
an saga vendenti nubat caupone relicto.

Why should a gold necklace be the distinguishing mark of the *plebeian* woman as opposed to the *rich*¹ (cf. *divitibus* l. 585) ?

(1) The woman in question is the consort of a *caupo*, a *copa*. The most famous *copa* of literature was of alien extraction—*copa Syrisca caput Graia redimita mitella*—; so was the only other *copa* in Juvenal, Cyane, the consort or at any rate the employée of a Syrophenician.² There is, therefore, apart from other considerations, a probability that the lady of line 589 was also from the Near East.

(2) As such she would wear the *mitra*, like Vergil's *copa* and the girls of III 65.³

(3) Along with the *mitra* the wearing of *necklaces* was especially characteristic of the oriental dress (both in men and women), which severe Romans so condemned; cf.:

II 83. accipient te
paullatim qui longa domi redimicula sumunt
frontibus et toto posuere monilia collo.

III 66. Ite quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra.
rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.

Verg. *Aen.* I 654. colloque monile
baccatum et duplicum gemmis auroque coronam.

Ovid, *Met.* V 51. ornabant aurata monilia collum
et madidos murrha curvum crinale capillos.

¹ Cf. Housman ad loc. 'aurum nondum explicatum.'

² VIII 162.

³ Cf. VI 516 and III 62, iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
et sequentia.

There are also two plates in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler gr. und röm. Sculptur*, Fig. 202 and 204, shewing the *mitra* and elaborate necklace in conjunction, which illustrate admirably Juvenal's words, *toto posuere monilia collo* (III 85) and *longum aurum nudis cervicibus*, here; cf. also Daremberg and Saglio s. v. *Monile*, Fig. 5129, 5132.

I think we may conclude then—especially in the absence of any other explanation—that the 'long gold on the bare shoulders' of a *copa* is certainly the necklace typical of the dress of the low class East Ender⁴ in Rome—so typical that even the poorest would wear it if possible. I am told that in Syria and Palestine and other parts of the Near East a similar custom is still in vogue and that the plebeian woman's necklace is often not so much an ornament as her dowry. An interesting point is the casual nature of Juvenal's reference, which shews how familiar to his readers the picture would be and tells us therefore something of the normal dress and appearance of quite a large proportion of the people in Imperial Rome.

VIII 207. *Credamus tunicae de faucibus aurea cum se
porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.
Ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
vulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare secutor.*

Professor Housman in his notes on the Oxford fragment of Sat. VI demonstrates that the *tunic* in this passage is a sign of effeminacy. Juvenal certainly appears to point to the *galerus* and the *aurea spira* as an additional sign of turpitude. Two explanations of the words are advanced:—(1) The *galerus* is taken to be the headdress of a Salian priest and *aurea spira* the *appendices* or *apicula*, the bands which fastened the *apex* on the head. *Cum* must then presumably be taken in the concessive sense, with *ergo* explanatory of *tunicae*, since the priest's hat would hardly be an indication of effeminacy. This does not seem very satisfactory, as *tunicae* is left strangely unsupported, and in any case it surely is not very probable that the priestly insignia should be worn on top of the gladiator's costume.

(2) The *galerus* is taken to be the guard worn on the left shoulder of the *retiarius* and *spira* the cord attached to the net. This also appears weak, as all the emphasis must then be carried

⁴The circus being their especial haunt. Cf. III 65.

by *aurea*, since lines 10-12 of the Oxford fragment shew that there were respectable *retiarii* as well as disreputable, who wore the *munimentum humeri*. A second objection is that *de faucibus* would then be extremely inapposite.

Possibly the explanation is that *aurea spira* signifies the ends of the *redimicula* worn by effeminate people—cf. ii 84 accipient te paullatim qui longa domi redimicula sumunt—and that by a *longus⁵* *galerus*, so adorned, Juvenal means an effeminate headdress, like the *mitra*. (The *mitra* and the *galerus* had something, at any rate, in common, for both could be described as a *pilleus* or close fitting headdress—cf. Servius, ad *Aen.* IV 216 *Mitra* hoc est incurvo pilleo . . . ; ad *Aen.* VII 688 *Galerus* est genus pillei.) The passage then has full point—cf. Servius ad *Aen.* IV 216 Sane quibus effeminatio crimi dabatur, etiam *mitra* eis adscribatur.⁶ Moreover Verg. *Aen.* IX, 616 et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae suggests that the presence of *redimicula* increased the effeminate effect of the *mitra*. *De faucibus* is also in order, for the *redimicula* might be tied under the chin as well as round the brow:—cf. *Aen.* IV, 215 Maeonia mentum *mitra* subnixus; Isid. Orig. 19, 31, 5 redimicula sunt quibus *mitra* adligatur; Forcellini s. v. *mitra* *Pilleolus* . . redimiculis instructus quibus a mento religaretur.

X 189

188 'Da spatium vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos.'
189 Hoc recto voltu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.

Apparatus criticus according to Prof. Housman: recto voltu, G; recto vultu, AT; alto (eras.) recto vultu, P; Hoc altus (alius O) caelumque tuens hoc pallidus optas, LO; Hoc altus caelum intuens vultus sonus hoc et pallidus optas, F.

We have here two traditions, represented by GAT on the one hand and LO on the other; I wish to argue that the reading of LO is the source of our other readings and is probably that of the archetype.

The accepted text is that of GAT, but it is not really satisfactory in itself and editors do not agree in their interpretations of it. Apart from that, it would seem that it may well have

⁵ Cf. VII, 516, et Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara; *Aen.* IV, 215, Maeonia mentum *mitra* subnixus.

⁶ Cf. Cie. de Har. Resp., § 44 etc.

been derived from that of LO, whereas the reverse is impossible. The word *altus* appears to be the sheet-anchor, for it occurs not only in L and in O (under the disguise of *alius*) but in F and also in P (in the form *alto*). It is plainly the difficult word in the reading of L, and there have, it seems, been various ancient glosses attempting to explain it—long before L itself was written.

(1) Someone thought *altus* might perhaps mean *alta voce* and above or below the words 'Hoc *altus caelumque tuens* hoc *pallidus optas*' wrote a note or query on it⁷ 'Sonus?'⁸ (2) A second hand on the same MS. wrote in plain prose the gloss *caelum intuens vultus* (perhaps a contradiction and correction of *sonus*) meaning 'no, nothing to do with sound of course; *altus* refers to the *face*, gazing heavenward.' The annotator repeated the poet's words—*caelumque tuens*—to emphasize his point but naturally substituted the prose word *intuens* for the poetical *tuens*. In F these glosses⁹ ousted the original words and, with the exception of *et*, give us the whole of its curious (and otherwise inexplicable) reading. *Et* may have been a suprascript variant for the second *hoc* and then incorporated by the scribe.¹⁰ F is a century or so older than L and O, and it is to be remarked therefore that L and O are following a yet older tradition. (3) Another gloss on *altus*, in some other MS., was *recto voltu*, 'gazing straight at Heaven'—practically the equivalent of (2) *caelum intuens voltus*. This displaced *caelumque tuens* and we get *Hoc altus recto voltu hoc pallidus optas.*

This was then corrected to *Hoc recto voltu* ^{*alto*¹¹} *< solum > hoc et pallidus optas*—the reading preserved by P.

⁷ Cf. Livy IV. 21. 6, 'pestilentior annus tantum [metum] vastitatis in urbe agrisque fecit' (from F. W. Hall *Companion to Classical Texts* p. 196).

⁸ I. e. "used here of sound?"

⁹ For interlinear or marginal remarks incorporated in the text, cf. the number of spurious lines in Juv., e. g. iii. 281, xi. 161, xiii. 166. The true reading has been ousted by the gloss at VI, 159 (D *nudo* for *nero*); at VI 592 Mus. Brit. 11999 has *pauperculae tamen* for *hae tamen*. F. W. Hall quotes Dem. *Conon* § 26 (*βωμός* for *λαός*) and Dante, *Conv.* IV. 15 where 'etera' has been displaced by 'corpo sottile e diafano'. Cf. also the attempt to introduce the title of Sat. XIV into the text (Housman, ad loc.).

¹⁰ Cf. P's conflated readings at 1. 126 (*quiescaet*) and 1. 159 (*despiciaet*): cf. VI, 604.

¹¹ The termination of *altus* having been assimilated to that of *recto*

If we take the reverse point of view and assume that GAT give the older reading, F's *caelum intuens* might certainly have been a gloss on *recto voltu*, but it is very improbable that, having ousted *recto voltu*, it was then corrected *metri causa* to *caelumque tuens*, for F's reading (as far as one can see) can only be accounted for as derived from that of LO. Above all how are we to account for *altus* or *alto*? That anyone should write *altus* or *alto voltu* as a gloss on *recto voltu* seems wholly improbable.

This seems to be, therefore, a case in which we should prefer the harder reading. As for the expression *altus caelumque tuens* I am unable to quote any parallel passage for such a use of *altus*; ¹² but though it is a fanciful expression it seems possible and the glosses *recto voltu* and *caelum intuens voltus* are fairly sound though rather inadequate interpretations—the idea being that of a man on tip-toe, with upturned gaze, reaching up to Heaven, pale with the fervency of prayer; ¹³ if the Latin can bear the meaning, it is a far better line than *Hoc recto voltu* etc. *Recto voltu* is intelligible as a gloss on *altus caelumque tuens*, but standing by itself in the text it is thrown into antithesis to *pallidus* and inevitably suggests the idea of *confidence*—so much so that to make any sense at all, it is forced by some editors to mean 'in good health' as opposed to *pallidus* 'in bad.' At the very most if so taken it could only mean 'with the confident gaze of good health'; and any idea of confidence is entirely out of harmony with the entreaty of line 188.

XIV 227-234

Line 229—*et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicari*—is omitted by many MSS. but read by P and others and has every appearance of being genuine. It has, however, no construction and is usually bracketed by editors. The result, however, is far from satisfactory. Housman *ad loc.* says: 'lacunam quam non optime sic explevit, conduplicare <non metuant: iuvenis semper

voltu (cf. iv. 3 P *aegra*, vi. 606, and perhaps xi. 118) and *alto* being then written as a suprascript variant.

¹² Juv. VI, 502, Sen. *Oed.* 337 are perhaps worth comparing.

¹³ It is objected that one would not pray for 'length of days in the attitude described, as though it were a matter of immediate urgency.' But it obviously suits Juvenal's rhetorical case to say that he would, and it is on the whole less of an exaggeration than to say that length of days is the *only* thing we pray for either in good health or bad.

sic doctus equis mox>, iam Guil. Schulzius odoratus erat'; and fills it himself with the line *<cum videant, cupiant sic et sua conduplicari>*. This, however, apart from completing the sentence, leaves it open to the same objections as it has if l. 229 is omitted:—

(1) The antecedent to *quem* has to be supplied out of the plurals *pueros . . . avaros et qui cupiant*. This may be defended by such a line as *qui non risere parenti nec deus hunc mensa* etc. of *Eclogue IV*, but it is at least most unusual and awkward. Alternatively *curriculo* (masculine according to Nonius and Charisius) may possibly be taken as the antecedent of *quem*; in that case the personification of the chariot implied in the words *subsistere nescit et te contempto* is at least unusual and awkward.

(2) We have the faulty metaphor of a person giving free rein to a chariot in which he is not riding; which is at least unusual and awkward.

(3) The change from *dat* and *effundit* to *revoces* in the same sentence and referring to the same subject is also unusual and awkward. None of these objections is perhaps insuperable in itself; but their accumulated weight and the fact that they are all removed by Schulz's suggestion make it appear that he was still upon the right scent. Without his insertion the apodosis begins at *dat libertatem* and the emphasis falls on those words, that is to say in the wrong place. With it the apodosis begins at *et laevo* and the *qui* clause is the climax—"He who has instilled the love of wealth, produces sons who are not only avaricious, but *criminal*" is the appropriate answer to l. 224 "Haec ego nunquam mandavi nec talia suasi!" Moreover, the beginning of the apodosis is properly marked by the change of tense (from *praecepit* to *producit*); and with *iuvensis* commencing a new sentence objections (1), (2) and (3) disappear. Schulz's words are probably not the words of Juvenal, but he has at any rate located and repaired the fault. One would think, however, that he might just as well have kept the final *i* of *conduplicari* which the MSS. have, and written *extemps cu-*
piant; iuvensis sic doctus . . . or words to that effect.

L. G. POCOCK.

CANTERBURY COLLEGE,
CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND.

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Pp. 1-17. Fritz Heinemann, *Die Spiegeltheorie der Materie als Korrelat der Logos-Licht-Theorie bei Plotin.* In the Ms. Escorialensis there is a discussion of matter which bears the name of Numenius. Baümker had pointed out that this discussion is also found in book 6 of the third Ennead of Plotinus, and is therefore to be ascribed to him and not to Numenius. Thedinga had tried to show that the passage in question belonged originally to Numenius. The present article justifies the authorship of Plotinus by showing that the ideas set forth by him in Enneads III, 6, are not at variance with those expressed by him elsewhere.

Pp. 18-25. Carl Wendel, *Kustos-Wiederholungen in den Apolloniosscholien.* Discussion with examples of erroneous repetition in the scholia to the *Argonautica*.

Pp. 26-71. P. Corssen, *Die vierte Ekloge Virgils.* An elaborate attempt to penetrate the mystery of the Fourth Eclogue. The views of Norden are carefully analyzed, and many of them are rejected. The author's conclusion is that Vergil's poem is not part of the history of a religious idea having its origin in Egypt, but is a piece of poetic fancy which is quite free from any religious implication. The reference to the child is not to any particular child, since specific reference would not have been in keeping with the character of the poem. Considering the circumstances, it is not, however, surprising that Vergil's contemporaries referred the prophecy to a son of Asinius Pollio.

Pp. 72-85. Theodor Schwierczina, *Fronto und die Briefe Ciceros.* Fronto in his letters often speaks of Cicero's letters with the highest praise, affirming, indeed, that the letters are more worthy to be read than the orations. Fronto often imitated Cicero, and the bulk of the present article consists of a series of parallel passages showing correspondences in thought and expression between the two.

Pp. 86-100. Joseph Schnetz, *Jordanis beim Geographen von Ravenna.* The work of the Geographer of Ravenna contains many passages from Jordanis, one from his *Romana*, the others from his *Getica*. The present article discusses the borrowings from Jordanis, the Ms. of the *Getica* which was used, the age of the excerpts, and certain notable peculiarities of these excerpts. Three conclusions are reached: 1) the anonymous Geographer has actually used Jordanis, if only to supplement his other

sources. 2) He has allowed himself certain liberties in using passages from Jordanis. 3) He has taken over single names or numbers of names from the Gothic writer without mentioning him definitely as authority for the borrowings concerned, sometimes without mentioning him at all.

Pp. 101-116. K. Rupprecht, *Zwei Probleme der griechischen Syntax*. The two problems considered are the use of masculine forms with feminines, and the neuter participle as an abstract. All cases of the first construction are found in the drama. The author may have been influenced by the thought that all the rôles would be played by men, although metrical considerations may in some cases have had weight. Various explanations are offered for the cases quoted. The second construction seems to have been employed chiefly by a small number of writers. There are no examples in the comedy, in the orators, or in the New Testament, a fact which seems to show that writers who used the natural speech avoided the construction as too artificial.

Pp. 117-128. *Miscellen*. 1. pp. 117-123. Otto Stein, *Zur Datierung von Ptolemaios' Geographie*. An attempt to arrive at the date through the criteria of Indian history. Ptolemy's Geography was composed between 125 and 129 A. D. The author himself must have been born about 100 A. D. 2. pp. 123-127. Wilhelm Bannier, *Ein Papyrusfragment aus der Chronik des Hippolytus*. No. 870 in the sixth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* contains a list of names which has been shown to be identical with a section of the Chronicle of Hippolytus. A reconstruction of the papyrus fragment is given as well as a discussion of the writing, the text, etc. 3. pp. 127-128. B. Warnecke, *'ΑΝΤΙΣΚΗΝΟΣ des Ephesischen Theaters*. The remains of a structure were found by the upper row of seats in the theatre of Ephesus, the purpose of this was probably acoustic.

Pp. 129-140. Wilhelm Nestle, *ΑΙΠΡΑΓΜΟΣΥΝΗ*. This is a note on Thucydides II, 63. The word is to be translated "political inactivity." This quality was characteristic of the Sophists with their ideas of internationalism, and belonged also to Socrates and his circle. The Sophists, Socrates and his pupils are to be understood as the *ἀπράγμονες* whom Pericles felt to be in opposition to his own imperialistic ideas.

Pp. 141-154. W. Judeich, *Die Zeit der Friedensrede des Andokides*. In assigning a date to Andocides' oration on peace with the Lacedaemonians, scholars have varied between 393 and 390. By carefully analyzing the events of the period it is possible to date the oration with certainty as belonging to the beginning of the year 392.

Pp. 155-167. Friedrich Wilhelm, Zu Ovid. Ex Ponto I 3. This poem of Ovid is the answer to an expression of sympathy by Rufinus. By analyzing the poem and by citing many parallel passages it is shown that Ovid followed all of the best traditions laid down by the rhetorical schools for such situations. In using rhetorical commonplaces Ovid not only echoes other writers, but also repeats himself frequently.

Pp. 168-191. W. Gundel, Textkritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Manilius. Attempts to improve the understanding of ten passages. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 192-201. C. Hosius, Die literarische Stellung von Ausons Mosellied. In spite of the original elements in Ausonius, he is nevertheless firmly rooted in the ancient tradition. This is shown by comparing his work with that of other writers who have dealt with similar themes, such as descriptions of travel, etc.

Pp. 202-207. Rob. Lehmann-Nitsche, Aus ethnologischen Sternbilderstudien. The word *jugula* used by the ancients in connection with the constellation Orion refers properly not to the whole constellation but to the stars of the girdle, which in connection with Rigel make a fair representation of a yoke with a pole attached. An illustrative sketch is appended to the article.

Pp. 208-232. Oskar Viedebant, Forschungen zur altpeloponnesischen Geschichte. The first part of this article deals with the tyrant Pheidon of Argos; this is followed by an excursus on the so-called second Messenian war. A discussion is given of Pheidon's activities, his position in the state, and his date. He must have lived in the second half of the seventh century, the assigning of his date to the eighth Olympiad puts him a century too early. In the matter of the second Messenian war the author opposes the view of Wilamowitz that the reports of the historians are untrustworthy.

Pp. 233-240. Miscellen. 4. pp. 233-236. Thomas Stettner, Cassiodors Name. It is probable that the correct form of the name is Cassiodorus, not Cassiodorius. Inasmuch as Cassiodorus abandoned the use of his name Flavius, it is best not to use it in referring to him. 5. pp. 236-238. R. Foerster (†), Zu den griechischen Physiognomikern. An account of the MSS. 6. pp. 238-240. B. Warnecke, Ad histriorum vitas. An account of the confusion which prevails in the extant lives of ancient actors.

Pp. 241-255. A. D. Knox, Herodes and Callimachus. The author of the article (which is in English) justifies his work

against the criticisms of Herzog. It is pointed out that Herodes was an Athenian; even in metre he is wholly dependent on the Attic tradition and wholly at variance with the practice of Hippoanax and Callimachus.

Pp. 256-279. Josef Morr, Die Landeskunde von Palästina bei Strabon und Josephos. The accounts of Palestine given by Strabo and Josephus have a common source in Poseidonius. Josephus made considerable use of Poseidonius, but indirectly through Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus. At the end of the article is an appendix, Die Landeskunde von Palästina bei Tacitus und Justinus. Tacitus' descriptions of Palestine are compared with those of Strabo and Josephus. Tacitus shows traces of the influence of Poseidonius, sometimes through intermediate sources. Echoes of Poseidonius also appear in Justinus.

Pp. 280-308. Wilhelm Port, Die Anordnung in Gedichtbüchern augusteischer Zeit. Other attempts to analyze the arrangement followed by the Latin poets have suffered from a failure to observe the origin of the books. It is important to discover whether the poems were arranged after having been written, or were written with an eye to arrangement in a book. In the first case no general principle can be adduced. The books studied are Vergil's Eclogues, Horace's Satires, Epodes, Odes I-III, and Epistles. The order of the Eclogues is not chronological, but it does follow a definite plan. The plan of the first book of Horace's Satires is less regular than that of the second. The plan of the Epodes is conditioned by the metres. Reasons are adduced for believing that the order of the first three books of Odes is not accidental. In the first book of Epistles a conscious order is to be seen, in the second book Horace purposely put the poem to Augustus in the first place. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 309-338. W. Gundel, Textkritische und exegetische Bemerkungen zu Manilius. A continuation of the article pages 168-191. Ten more passages are elaborately studied.

Pp. 339-363. J. Trotzki, Zum Pervigilium Veneris. The article considers the order of the verses, the traditional topic of Spring, and the conception of Venus involved. Except for three places the order of the verses needs no correction. An analysis of the poem is given in order to prove this point. Praise of the Spring is a common theme of epideictic literature. Comparisons are given between the Pervigilium Veneris and similar compositions. The various manifestations of Venus are discussed, and it is pointed out that the Venus of the poem is the cosmogonic Aphrodite of Empedocles and the Orphics, the *oūpavía* of Plato, the alma Venus of Lucretius, and not the mater saeva Cupidinum of erotic literature.

Pp. 364-375. *Miscellen.* 7. pp. 364-375. W. A. Baehrens, *Zum Prooemium des Culex.* An attempt to relieve Vergil from the responsibility for what the author considers an unworthy poem. From considerations of language, metre, and content, it is decided that the *Culex* was written in the time of Augustus, and after Vergil's death.

Pp. 377-390. R. Frese, *Die "aristophanische Anklage" in Platons Apologie.* Plato did not attribute to Aristophanes any share in causing Socrates' trial and execution by means of the satiric picture of the philosopher in the *Clouds*. The comedy had been acted 24 years before the trial, and had probably been forgotten by the people, especially since the acting version of the play failed on the stage. Aristophanes had no particular animus against Socrates, he merely used him as a convenient symbol for his attack on the new learning. Again, if Plato had believed that Aristophanes' play had any effect on Socrates' judges he would not have represented Aristophanes and Socrates in friendly discussion as he did in the *Symposium*. There is nothing in ancient tradition to indicate an enmity between Aristophanes and Plato, indeed, Plato esteemed the comic poet highly.

Pp. 391-426. Georg Herbolzheimer, *Ciceros rhetorici libri und die Lehrschrift des auctor ad Herennium.* Many attempts have been made to determine the relationship between Cicero and the *Auctor ad Herennium*. A searching comparison of Cicero's *De Inventione* with the *ad Herennium* shows that both works are derived from a common source, a formal Latin treatise. This treatise was the only source of the *Auctor ad Herennium*, and was used by him with great fidelity. Cicero employed two sources for the *de Inventione*, the treatise of Hermagoras, and the Latin work also used by the *Auctor ad Herennium*. Cicero drew material chiefly from Hermagoras, and used the Latin treatise only to amplify and enrich. Sometimes Cicero took whole passages from this Latin source, sometimes he took only phrases or words.

Pp. 427-468. Wilhelm Port, *Die Anordnung in Gedichtbüchern augusteischer Zeit.* This is a continuation of the preceding article, pp. 280-308. Here are considered the fourth book of Horace's *Odes*, *Tibullus*, and Ovid's *Amores*. The fourth book of the *Odes* is very different from the previous collection represented by the first three books. The metres are more varied. Three major groups of poems are to be distinguished, political, erotic-sympotic, and those dealing with poetry. The poems in the second group are so arranged as to produce an atmosphere of variety. In the case of *Tibullus* we have to do with a collection which was not put together until after the poet's death.

Books I and II were issued by Tibullus himself. In putting ten poems into Book I he was perhaps following the tradition of Vergil's Eclogues, or the first book of Horace's Satires. Book I was issued in the year 25 or 24, Book II in the poet's last years. The arrangement of Book I is conscious and artistic. It is impossible to establish a chronological arrangement for Book II. Books III and IV show no such artistic arrangement as Book I, but the author has obviously tried to achieve variety in arrangement. In the Amores Ovid had attempted, in so far as he could, to put poems of similar motives into different books. This was a new principle. The results of the whole investigation show that in the Augustan period all the poets arranged their work with conscious art. At the end of the article is an excursus on the date of Book I of the Elegies of Tibullus.

Pp. 469-487. *Miscellen.* 8. pp. 469-472. R. Foerster (†), *Der Zittauer Platon und Codex Vindob. phil. gr. 21.* A comparison of the two MSS. shows that Z is no more than a copy of V, made while the latter was still in an Italian library. Ms. Z is, therefore, of no value for purposes of recension. 9. pp. 472-473. M. Rothstein, *Catull und Caelius Rufus.* In two poems (58 and 100), Catullus mentions a certain Caelius. The two references are to the same man. This Caelius cannot be Cicero's friend M. Caelius Rufus, because Catullus' friend came from Verona, while Cicero's came from Interamnia. Catullus' Lesbia was probably not the second sister of Clodius, since she was the beloved of M. Caelius Rufus. There is no objection to assuming that Lesbia was the third sister of Clodius. 10. pp. 473-478. Mauriz Schuster, *Zur Kritik und Erklärung des Propertz.* Discussion of four passages. 11. pp. 478-480. S. Eitrem, *De Lynceo Platonico.* Lynceus, mentioned in Plato, *Epistles*, 7, 344a, is the name of a drug. 12. pp. 480-483. Curt Fensterbusch, *Scaenica.* The development of a typical direction as indicated by the paradoi of the Attic theatre begins only with the last plays of Aristophanes and the work of Menander. In these last it is probable that use of the right parados (from the spectator's viewpoint) indicated that the actor was coming from the agora or from the town, the left meant that he was coming from the country. In the case of the Roman theatre Vitruvius' statement is to be accepted. Through the right parados (from the spectator) entered those who were coming *a foro*, through the left, those coming *a peregre*. Since in Roman comedies all people coming from abroad arrived by ship, the left parados is the entrance *e portu*; those who came from the country entered from the Forum side. 13. pp. 483-487. Friedrich Kredel, *Reste eines antiken Proportionssystemes für Pferde.* In the early chapters of the third book of the "Mulomedicina Chironis" of Vege-

tius are fragments of a scheme of proportion for horses. This is a parallel to the system of proportion for the human figure given by Vitruvius (Book 3, Chap. 1). The text of the fragment from Vegetius is given with a translation. The passage from Vegetius goes back to a Greek source.

HARRISON C. COFFIN.

UNION COLLEGE.

ROMANIA, Vol. LII (1926).

Pp. 1-16. E. Staaff. Sur un manuscrit de Jacopone da Todi conservé à la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague. This manuscript seems to have hitherto escaped the attention of specialists. It appears to have been written towards the close of the fourteenth century and belongs to the Venetian group, containing, as it does, certain pieces which are not in the Paris manuscript of Jacopone da Todi. It has in all ninety-six poems.

Pp. 17-36. D. S. Blondheim. Poésies judéo-françaises. Five poems remain to us of those written by the French Jews of the Middle Ages, and all but one of them are here published for the first time. They throw a certain additional light on the life of the time, and are not without linguistic interest. These poems are all preserved in Hebrew manuscripts, one of them in New York, three in London, and the finest one in Rome.

Pp. 37-74. Holger Petersen. Trois versions inédites de la Vie de Saint Eustache en vers français. This poem is known to have been preserved in but a single manuscript of the years 1428 and 1429, which is now in the Royal Library at Brussels. It seems evident, however, that the poet himself must have flourished at least a century earlier. Linguistic evidence points to the province of Hainaut, and it appears to be clearly established that the well-known Latin version of the legend preserved in the *Acta Sanctorum* was the source used. Such changes as were made by the versifier in his original may well be considered to be improvements in the legendary recital.

Pp. 75-133. Ferdinand Lot. Études sur les légendes épiques françaises. I. Raoul de Cambrai. This epic tradition has long been one of the main bulwarks of those who hold to the contemporary lyric theory to explain the origin of the French chansons de geste. But M. Bédier in 1908 raised certain objections to the validity of this view, and there then ensued a long and acrimonious debate between the partisans of the rival theories. Once more the whole question of French epic origins is submitted to scrutiny by the author of the present series of articles, who pro-

ceeds to demolish much of M. Bédier's argumentation. There follows a long discussion of historical details drawn from contemporary charts.

Pp. 134-146. H. Yvon. Questions de méthode en syntaxe. Is it preferable to concentrate one's attention on antecedent constructions, or to pay attention to modern developments above all else? The present author prefers to consider the historical development, and treats of sample phrases such as: Que vous en semble? Il arrive des accidents.

Pp. 147-156. L. Foulet. L'Influence de l'ancienne langue sur la langue moderne. The disappearance of case endings in modern French has had a profound influence on the order of words, but here and there old phrases have persisted nevertheless. Cases actually occur in which such an archaic construction has gained ground in recent centuries.

Pp. 157-256. Mélanges, Comptes rendus, Périodiques, Chronique, Réunion des romanistes à Paris, 18-19 décembre, 1925.

Pp. 257-295. Ferdinand Lot. Etudes sur les légendes épiques françaises. II. Girard de Roussillon. The author of this article takes up anew the questions surrounding this legend, which had previously been discussed by both Paul Meyer and Joseph Bédier, the latter's study being perhaps the chef-d'œuvre of his *Légendes épiques*. The poem in question is a pure romance, and it was evidently written by a Burgundian who was a native of the region in which the action is considered to have taken place. The same Girard is also the hero of various other compositions in which he is known as Girard de Viane, or Girard de Fraite. An extended analysis is given of Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube's version of the beginning of the thirteenth century, and also a briefer one of the form occurring in the *Karlamagnus Saga*. An appendix is entitled: Les récits de la translation des reliques de sainte Marie-Madeleine.

Pp. 296-306. Antoine Cretton. Fragment d'un manuscrit de Garin le Lorrain. From the binding of a volume preserved in the Bibliothèque de Genève there has recently been removed a parchment leaf which originally belonged to a French manuscript written about the middle of the thirteenth century. By a comparison with the manuscripts of this epic already known it is shown here that the fragment came from a lost manuscript, and hence a critical edition of its text is herewith given.

Pp. 307-327. C. De Boer. L'Évolution des formes de l'interrogation en français. The author of this article takes up anew the problems which Lucien Foulet had ably discussed five years before, and attempts to give a solution of his own. He here

distinguishes three causes of the modern development: phonetical and morphological, logical and finally psychological. The last-mentioned he considers to be the essential one.

Pp. 328-348. J. Jud. *Mots d'origine gauloise?* Quatrième série. Under six headings a series of early etymologies is here discussed, and it is plainly shown that in certain cases the territory of a Gallic word extended beyond the present limits of France into both Switzerland and Northern Italy.

Pp. 349-416. *Mélanges, Comptes rendus, Périodiques, Chronique.*

Pp. 417-444. Arthur Långfors. *Mélanges de poésie lyrique française.* Premier article. In spite of all the work hitherto done by Romance scholars in this field, there still remain gleanings for a painstaking searcher among manuscripts and out-of-the-way early publications. A certain number of these waifs have here been brought together, published and elucidated.

Pp. 445-459. L. Foulet. *L'interrogation et l'ordre des mots en anglais et en français.* This article is a species of rejoinder to that recently published by M. de Boer. Besides numerous examples from the English both of England and America, Danish, German and even Spanish usage is cited (the last-named based on the statements made by Marathon Montrose Ramsey in *A Text-book of Modern Spanish*).

Pp. 460-494. Gunnar Tilander. *Notes d'étymologie française.* Under fourteen headings a number of etymologies are discussed, especial attention being paid to verbs ending in -icare.

Pp. 495-576. *Mélanges, Comptes rendus, Périodiques, Chronique, Table des matières.*

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

REVIEWS.

Platon, Oeuvres Complètes, Tome XIII, 1re Partie, Lettres.
Texte établi et traduit par Joseph Souilhé. Paris, Société
d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1926. Pp. cii + 171. 12°.
25 fr. (50 fr., if bought separately).

This addition to the Budé classics maintains for the most part the high standard of that series. M. Souilhé has had more spade work to do than most editors. He has collated some manuscripts and has examined others. He bases his text on A, O, V, and Z. Of these V is not cited by Burnet for his edition. It is a MS. of the twelfth century, codex Vaticanus Graecus 1029 B. The editor's labor in collating it is valuable as showing that it is of no value. He adopts only six times (331e 2,¹ 339e 5, 341b 5, 341d 3, 346e 3, 356c 1) a reading of V not found in O. At 313a 7 and 359a 3 V's reading is really indicated by a later hand in O. The only independent readings of V are found to be errors, obvious conjectures, or easy corrections. V follows O or O² in many mistaken readings. Note for instance 319e 2, $\mu\eta$ A: om. OZV; 326c 4, $\omega\theta'$ V et O ex em.; 332a 1, $\delta\eta\pi\theta\epsilon\nu$ AO²: $\delta\eta\pi\theta\epsilon\nu$ OV; 332a 7, 332d 1, 333b 7, 346b 1 (where the note shows that $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ is an emendation in O), 352b 1 (where $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota\omega$ is erased in O and omitted in V), 354e 6 (where OV omit a line of A). The discovery that O is copied from A makes the evidence even more conclusive that V is a copy, perhaps direct, from O.

With regard to O I am in a position to check up Souilhé's careful collation of a facsimile, because I had myself collated the actual MS. for the *Epistles* and the *Epinomis* before I knew of his work. He has noted some readings missed by others, but his notes are quite misleading with regard to the original reading of O. In practically every case where there is disagreement Burnet is right, and there are scores of such cases. His use of a facsimile accounts for his belief that O is not a copy of A. The evidence is in fact conclusive that the scribe of O began to copy A at *Laws* 746b 8. See my article in the *Classical Quarterly*, Jan., 1928. I have carefully compared the readings of O throughout the *Epistles* with those of the published facsimile of A. A abounds in mistakes and omissions. O follows A or A² in the slightest details even where the reading makes no possible sense. Note the readings at 315a 5, 334d 5, 335b 7, 339b 9, 340a 2, 349c 3, 350b 1 and others *passim*; and the identical omissions at 312a 5, 314a 5, 336a 2, 343c 7, 351d 8 and many

* The numbers are those of the lines in Souilhé's edition.

others. Among readings of AO not hitherto reported are 323d 10, ἐπέστειλά σε νομίζειν; 324a 6, rasura post ἐγώ; 331d 2, ras. post ἀποθανεῖσθαι; 336c 1, εὐφημῶ—μεν; 341a 3, γίνεται; 342a 8, αὕτη; 342c 7, τ in τε in ras.; 348e 3, ras. post ἔφη; 349a 3, ras. post σύ. At 332a 6 O omits exactly two lines of A, two lines again at 334d 6 (δὲ . . . πείθεσθε), about one line at 354e 6. The differences between O and A are seldom improvements on O's part. The one reading of O that is difficult to account for on the supposition that O is a copy of A is 347b 4, ὑποφαίνοντα. But this is not enough in itself to prove anything. O is also right against A at 331a 5, 333a 6, and 357c 4. The passages where Souilhé represents A and O as disagreeing because his facsimile shows only the corrected reading in O are too numerous to mention. The following are also incomplete or wrong in Burnet: 309a 4, γῆδη AO; 310a 3, καλῶς AO; 317d 4, ἥπις AO; 317e 1, σύμπαντα AO; 331b 7, 331c 4, 331d 3, 334d 4, 336a 6, 362b 7. In these cases Souilhé's O should be O²; O had the same reading as A.

Though the editor states that he has verified Burnet's readings for A, there are mistakes here too. Burnet has the following note: 340e 2, καὶ O²: om. AO. The note belongs at 341b 2. Souilhé notes the mistake for O but not for A, thus making it appear that O differs twice from A where there is no difference at all. He fails to note that A agrees with O at 339a 7. O is like A at 325a 7, 327c 5 and where Burnet so indicates. The greeting of *Epistle VIII* was omitted by O as in A. It was supplied by O². The first two words were then erased and it was so copied by V. In the following cases there is apparently an erasure in A to account for the divergence from O: 310b 4, 334a 7, 335a 1, 360e 1. O actually differs from A in twenty-seven readings, all slight changes and all but seven corrected, in some cases probably at once. We are dependent on A alone for the correct reading only at 319e 2 and at 335b 6. Souilhé confuses readings of O and O² at 331b 6; the note shows his mistaken quotation of the patriarch's book at 326c 4. At 312d 3 the lemma should be δ δη τούτον. He has failed to note 322a 2, ἐλπίζω O²; 325a 4, μικρά AO: σμικρά O²; 325a 6, τε om. AO: add. O²; 329d 2, οὐτως O²; 330a 6, ἐκείνον O²; 338d 1, ποιήσασι O; 343c 7, ἐσμεν in ras. O; 348c 1, διονύσι O errore. It is unlikely that we have any MS. of the *Epistles* that is independent of O. The marginal notes in Z seem to come from O via L. Since L follows O's mistake at 335b 6, it is probably not independent for the *Epistles*. At 362e 1 Z alone gives the original reading of A and O. It probably represents an earlier state of O than V does. The fact that a MS. represents an independent tradition for the *Laws* obviously proves nothing in regard to the *Epistles*.

The resulting text, being eclectic, is little the worse for any failure to record the original errors of A as copied by O. It differs from that of Burnet in forty places. A majority of the changes are improvements. Eighteen of the new readings are from corrections or marginal readings in O. Four times the editor returns to the reading of A. Four times he deserts A for O or for A². He has adopted fourteen conjectures; two from late MSS. (329a 6, 347d 6), seven other old ones and five new ones. Of the new ones ἄγγειοι at 313b 7 (Diēs) is plausible. Presumably we owe συμβουλεύοντος (331b 2) and the omission of μέν (330c 5) to the editor, though the note is silent. Both are pointless. At 311e 1 καὶ λόγοι disappears from the text without trace in accordance with Howald's suggestion. The note and the translation show that Souilhé still clings to the old error of taking ἀληθινήν with δόξαν instead of with φιλοσοφίαν. His evident feeling for rhythm should teach him better. A and O mark a colon between the words, and surely it makes better sense to translate 'the genuine philosophy will be better thought of and better spoken of.'

At 322b 5 no change is necessary. At 353b 3 the editor boldly changes τυράννους to στρατηγούς regardless of the fact that he thereby leaves the explanatory ὡς φασιν with nothing to explain. There is no difficulty in taking αὐτοκράτορας as a noun. As a technical term it is then supplemented by the popular expression τυράννους, which is introduced by the half-apologetic, half-defiant ὡς φασιν. Translate: 'Giving them the title of plenipotentiaries, in common parlance, tyrants.' At 320c 5 his ὡς misses the point. After τούς an adjective is expected. Plato presumably suppresses it for reasons of his own, putting in a parenthetic οἰσθα δῆτον. The suppressed adjective was probably καλούς, as is suggested by the expression θρυπτόμενος πρὸς τούς καλούς (*Epistulae Socratae* XV end). This expression is found in the *Epistles* only at 360b 1.

I prefer the following readings to those adopted in this edition: that of O² at 312a 1, 316a 3, 325c 7, 330b 1, 331d 1 (*ποτε* not *τότε*), 339e 6, and 348a 8; that of A at 327c 5, 329a 6 (*δέ*), 334d 7, 347a 7, 351d 8 (the omission); that of P 2012 ex em. at 326d 3; Wilamowitz' conjecture at 325c 5; Apelt's at 342e 1; Burnet's at 345d 4; Stephanus' at 356b 4; Richards' at 357b 8 and 359c 3. I suggest that the original reading was at 313e 4 σὺ ἐπιστελεῖς, 322d 1 'Ερμίᾳ (and so elsewhere according to the inscriptional spelling), 328a 3 σφοδράν, 347d 6 ὅτιον λέγειν, 356a 4 νονδή. The printer seems to be responsible for the following: 309d 5, τραγῳδοιποῶν; 321e 7, νῶ; 322c 6, παρασκεύαζειν; 328c 4, οἰκοθενν; 336e 5, comma after μάχαις; 348e 8 note, κο for καί; 349c 3 note, ιώκαιν, 349b 7 δεῖτα.

The infrequent notes are mostly unexceptionable, but surely at

353e 3 the reference is to the Campanian mercenaries who had occupied several towns in Sicily, and at 344a it is precisely Lynceus' inability to make others see that gives the statement point. The general introduction and the notices to *Epistles* VII and VIII are excellent. The editor perhaps accepts too blindly Plato's position in the controversy with Dionysius and in that with Heracleides. Plato, like Cicero and Demosthenes, is liable to be overestimated as a statesman by those who fall under the spell of his eloquence. In his comments on the letters which he considers spurious (all but VII and VIII) Souilhé is guilty of nearly all the practices which he reprobates in others when discussing his two genuine epistles. If Karsten is a blind guide for two epistles, the chances are that he is equally out of date elsewhere. On page lxviii Souilhé would reject *Epistle* IV because of its rhetorical tone. It should not be news to classical scholars that Plato was an accomplished rhetorician and that *Apology*, *Menexenus*, and *Epistles* abound in commonplaces. Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus among others took Plato seriously as an oratorical model. So did Demosthenes for that matter, as ancient critics observed. To state that *Epistle* IV was 'nullement écrite pour le public' is to beg the question. No one need be surprised that four years after his refusal to take sides Plato was willing to intervene on Dion's behalf to the extent of writing a letter supporting him with reservations. That is hardly 'modifier rapidement son attitude.' He changed his mind in half that time about making a third voyage to Sicily.

Epistle XIII will always be a bone of contention. No one can accept it who supposes that Plato had the same sense of propriety as a modern professor. The truth is that Plato would have considered the modern professor's position hopelessly degrading, while he probably had the same notions as Pindar about his inherent right to liberal gifts from tyrants at whose courts he appeared. The token, god or gods, at the beginning of a letter should be explained with reference to the custom of putting $\theta\epsilon\circ\varsigma$, $\theta\epsilon\circ\iota\acute{\iota}$, or $\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\bar{\eta}\tau\acute{u}\chi\eta$ at the beginning of an inscribed decree. Sometimes all three appear. It is a favorite dictum of Plato's that one should begin everything $\alpha\pi\circ\theta\epsilon\circ\omega\varsigma$ (e. g., *Ep.* VIII, 353a). It is quite possible that the token was about as conventional as a postage stamp and as little likely to be reproduced in a literary version. The style of the letter is in its favor, if it really suggests Plato's last period.

Acceptance of *Epistle* II is almost entirely a matter of understanding its psychology. Plato resents Dionysius' charge that he has not been friendly. His protest voiced, he is ready to lecture Dionysius after the manner of schoolmasters. For Plato was a schoolmaster and his protests against pedantry are nothing but an apology for his own fatal tendency to become more and

more pedantic as he grew older. Souilhé sadly mistranslates the famous statement (314c) that the so-called works of Plato belong to Socrates *καλοῦ καὶ νέου γεγονότος*, 'au temps de sa belle jeunesse.' The phrase means that the views expressed in Plato's dialogues are not his own serious philosophy; they are rather the examination of various questions by a Socrates dressed up and modernized. No one presumably doubts that Plato's dialogues are mostly Socratic; their purpose is to convict Plato's contemporaries of ignorance. The style would, however, have been beyond the reach of Socrates; Socrates has been dressed up. As for the modernizing, that is denied by Prof. A. E. Taylor,—who nevertheless supports his position by this passage. How that can be, *ἵττῳ Ζεύς*. It is hardly surprising that Plato spoke more respectfully to Dionysius himself of his progress in philosophy than he did in *Epistle VII*, which is largely an attack on Dionysius. Plato frankly admits (332d 6) that he was not always plainspoken with Dionysius. Is it not a little naïve to suppose that he could be? As for the 'suffisance ridicule' of the writer, what term would Souilhé apply to the proposition of Plato thirty years earlier that only philosophers of his sort were fit to rule? Surely nothing in the *Epistles* could out-Plato the magnificent egoism of that pronouncement.

With regard to *Epistle III* it is not true that it is 'à peine à quelques mois de distance' from *Epistle VII*. There may well be three years between the two letters, and Plato would hardly have been deterred from writing a fuller, more fervent defense of himself after Dion's death because he had already written a brief answer to two charges. The insistence on the exact meaning of *χαιρεῖν* in the salutation may be scholastic, but it is the sort of thing that Plato did. He objects to the ordinary sense of the word *ἀφροδίσιον* (335b 4) and to that of *εὐδαιμόν* (354c 5, 355c 3, 326b 7) in much the same way. 'Transitions ménagées' are equally characteristic of *Epistle VII* (330b 9, 337e 3). As for the grammar of *ὅτε τι πλέον ποιεῖν ἀν φῆθην* (316a 2), since *ἀν* cannot be taken legitimately with *φῆθην*, why not construe with *ποιεῖν*? How else could Plato put a potential optative into indirect discourse? The use of *ἐκφοβεῖν* at 318b 7 is not due to 'inintelligence du terme' *ἀνασοβήσοι* (348a 3), for it is a perfect equivalent. There are two ways of frightening off marauding animals; one is to exhibit a scarecrow or bogey (*ἐκφοβεῖν*), the other is to make a demonstration, for instance, to wave the arms or to shout (*ἀνασοβεῖν*). The inference is the same in both letters. Dionysius frightened Plato into acquiescence in the spoliation of Dion by the threat of prosecution for plotting against the tyrant. It was an empty demonstration, but it succeeded and Plato resented it. Compare *ἀνασείειν* in Menander Epitrepones 283, where the meaning is: 'If you are making

an empty demonstration for the purpose of frightening me into relinquishing the babe's claim, etc.'

On page lxxxviii Souilhé has occasion to translate a comic fragment, *ώσπερ κοχλίας σεμνώς ἐπηρκώς τὰς ὄφρύς* (Diogenes Laertius III, 28, Meineke C. G. F. III, 305). He interprets, 'avec tes sourcils gravement relevés en spirale comme un coquillage.' If Plato really had spiral-shaped eyebrows, the effect must have been comic, but the Greek means 'like a snail, your eyebrows gravely raised.' This is comic exaggeration. To be sure the snail has no eyebrows, but that is because there is no room for them. He has already raised his eyes on eye-stalks well above his head and his imaginary eyebrows would have to float in the air like a halo. The picture called up would be irresistibly funny to an audience who knew snails.

The translation is excellent, especially for the letters which Souilhé considers genuine. His rendering shows that he feels the emotional fervor of many passages in the original, for instance at 351e. His translation is an improvement on any other known to me at 320d 7 and 336a, doubtless also in other places. He sometimes misses small points. He mistranslates *νῦν δέ* after a contrary to fact expression at 310c 5, 351a 1, 353c 9, and 358d 5. It means not 'now' but 'as matters stand,' 'the truth is.' He fails to note the aorist in *ἔσχεν* (324b 1), and misses the construction of the Greek at 312c 3, 4 and at 362c 1. The Greek seems not to justify 'tout s'écrouler' (309d 3), 'en ma personne' (312a 1), 'plus' (312a 4), and other expressions of minor importance. He translates *πραγματεία* correctly at 314a 7; on the preceding page (313b 4) it has the same meaning, 'most of my difficulty,' not 'toute mon activité.' At 324e 1 the translation should be 'a man whose friend I was, an elder Socrates,' not 'mon cher vieil ami Socrate.' This is the interpretation of Kapp (*Philologus* 1924, pp. 225-233). The editor is to be congratulated on his skill in avoiding numerous pitfalls in the *Epistles*. There is still room for an edition with full notes.

L. A. Post.

HAVERTY COLLEGE

A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age, from Tiberius to Hadrian. By J. WIGHT DUFF. London, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1927. xiv + 674. 21 shillings net.

This is the sequel to an excellent volume entitled A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age, which was very favorably reviewed in this Journal, XXXI (1910), 222-26. It is on the same plan as its predecessor and

displays the same high qualities of thorough scholarship, independent judgment, and good taste. It may thus be commended very heartily to all students and teachers of Latin. The illustrative passages which are introduced to support the author's criticisms are given in English translations, with the Latin relegated to notes. And the translations are always good. The book is well printed, on good paper, and the proofreading has been very carefully done. On p. 464 there is an odd slip of the pen which speaks of "the far eastern gardens of the Hesperides." It may be added that Professor WIGHT DUFF escapes the charge of insularity which has sometimes been brought against his countrymen by showing a wide acquaintance with the work of French, German, Italian and American scholars.

W. P. MUSTARD.

JOSEPH SIEMIEŃSKI. *Les Symboles graphiques dans les éditions critiques de textes. Projet d'unification.* Warsaw, *Fondation J. Mianowski*, 1927. [Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie. *Annales de la commission d'histoire.* Sous la direction de M. Joseph Siemieński. Tome I. Fascicule 1 B. (Traduction du fascicule 1 A.)] 50 pp.

The author of the treatise presents an elaborate system of signs for use in the preparation of critical texts. There can be no doubt about the insufficiency of the signs now used and the lack of uniformity in their employment. The plan submitted for criticism has been carefully thought out and has the advantage of having been tried in practice. It makes use of thirty symbols. This seems a large number. But the signs are so related that they may be learned without much effort, and their forms are such as not seriously to tax the resources of a good printing establishment. Though the plan as a whole is very attractive, there may be misgivings about the suitability of one or other of the signs, and, of course, the real merits of the new devices can be determined only by careful study and experiment. It is to be hoped that scholars of this and other lands will join forces with Professor Siemieński, and that there may result from such coöperation a system of critical signs that will commend itself for general acceptance.

C. W. E. MILLER.

Morale Scolarium of John of Garland (Johannes de Garlandia).

Edited, with an Introduction on the Life and Works of the Author, together with Facsimiles of four Folios of the Bruges Manuscript. By LOUIS JOHN PAETOW. University of California Press, 1927. 208 pp. Paper, \$4.25.

This is a most sumptuous edition of the *Morale Scolarium* ("Morality of Students") of John of Garland, here "published for the first time, from five manuscripts with their glosses." The author was born in England, probably about 1195, and spent about one-half of the thirteenth century at the University of Paris. For three years, 1229-32, he was at the University of Toulouse. He was apparently surnamed de Garlandia because he taught in the *clos de Garlande*, where some of the oldest schools of the University of Paris were established.

The *Morale Scolarium* consists of 662 Leonine hexameters, written in 1241. It is professedly a satire, and is supposed to throw some new light on student life in the Middle Ages, though the net gain must be exceedingly slight. It probably suffers now because of the present condition of the text, but it can never have been very interesting or important. Even the editor has to say of it, "Nothing could be more bizarre, more disorganized, more tantalizing than this poem. Many passages would be utterly unintelligible without the glosses, and even they still leave many lines exceedingly obscure." Indeed, his English paraphrase is very often based on the glosses, rather than on the Latin poem itself.

The most interesting part of the volume is the long introduction on the life and works of the author. This is based on a vast amount of careful work. It should be noted that Dr. PAETOW gives an English paraphrase of the whole poem, which is not mentioned on the title-page. And he has done well to add many of the glosses from his five manuscripts. These not only help to explain the text, but furnish some unusual words, in Latin, French, and English. Most of the classical quotations which occur in the glosses are duly indicated, but a few others are left unmarked. Thus on line 20, "Si nichil attuleris ibis, Homere, foris," comes from Ovid, A. A. II, 280; on 197, "Viri nudi sic veniunt ad miscelenia ludi," from Juv. XI, 20. At 384, "fruges consumere nati," is Horace's expression, Ep. I, 2, 27. "Elimetur," at the end of the Prologue, hardly means "be eliminated."

W. P. MUSTARD.

Aurelii Prudentii Clementis Carmina edidit IOANNES BERGMAN. Vindobonae-Lipsiae: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky A-G., MCMXXVI. lvi + 578 pp. Geh. 24 M.

This is the sixty-first volume of the great *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, published by the Vienna Academy of Letters. It offers a new and welcome edition of the poems of Prudentius, all the more welcome because it is the first critical edition of Prudentius since Albert Dressel's, Leipzig, 1860. Professor BERGMAN has based his text on the study of a great many more manuscripts than were known to Dressel, and even seems to have made full use of two of the oldest and best of them for the first time. In his Introduction he gives a brief account of the leading manuscripts, referring the reader who wishes more details to his discussion *De Codicis Prudentianorum Generibus et Virtute*, published at Vienna in 1908. He adds also a sketch of the life and works of the author, and some comments on earlier critical editions.

The volume is richly provided with indexes: (1) *Locorum Sacrae Scripturae*, (2) *Imitationum*, (3) *Nominum*, (4) *Rerum*, (5) *Verborum et Elocutionum*. These enable the reader to control not only the subject matter of the various poems, but also their peculiarities of language, style and metre. A few additions may be offered to the "index imitationum":

Cath. 3, 11: Claudio, Rufin. 2, 268, *Te sine dulce nihil*.
 Cath. 5, 115: Verg. Ecl. 5, 38, *pro molli viola*. Cath. 8, 79: Lucr. 2, 1136, *in venas cibus omnis diditur*. Cath. 12, 10: Verg. G. 1, 353, *menstrua luna*. Apoth. 350: Verg. Aen. 8, 47, *redeuntibus annis*. Apoth. 466: Verg. Aen. 6, 569, *commissa piacula*. Psych. 310: Ovid. F. 1, 314, *occiduas . . . aquas*. Symm. 1, 35: Verg. Aen. 1, 282, *gentemque togatam*. Symm. 1, 126: Verg. Aen. 1, 739, *pleno se proluit auro*. Symm. 1, 242: Verg. G. 2, 58, *seris . . . nepotibus*. Symm. 1, 541: Verg. Aen. 1, 278, *his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono, imperium sine fine dedi*. Symm. 1, 633: Fronto, p. 28, 26 N, *decus eloquentiae Romanae*. Symm. 2, *praef. 11*: Verg. Aen. 3, 128, *nauticus . . . clamor*. Symm. 2, 153: Horace, C. 3, 2, 20, *popularis aurae*. Symm. 2, 877: Juv. 13, 86, *sunt in Fortunae qui casibus omnia ponant, et nullo credant mundum rectore moveri*. Symm. 2, 1014: Verg. Ecl. 1, 70, *tam culta novalia*. Symm. 2, 1114: Ovid. A. A. 3, 113, *aurea Roma: Mart. 9, 59, 2, Roma . . . aurea*.

W. P. MUSTARD.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

The University of Chicago Manuscript of the *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* by Boccaccio. By Ernest H. Wilkins. The University of Chicago Press, 1927. xii + 82 pp., with fourteen plates. \$3.00.

The Life and Correspondence of Lodowick Bryskett. By Henry R. Plomer and Tom Peete Cross. The University of Chicago Press, 1927. xii + 89 pp. \$2.00.

Milton Papers. By David H. Stevens. The University of Chicago Press, 1927. x + 46 pp. \$2.00.

It is a pleasant duty to record here the beginning of the Modern Philology Monographs of the University of Chicago, and to say that the first three studies published set a very high standard for the series. Dr. E. H. Wilkins gives a masterly description of a really important manuscript which was once owned by Coluccio Salutati. Messrs. Plomer and Cross offer the most complete biography which has yet appeared of Lodowick Bryskett, a friend and companion of Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. Bryskett is perhaps best known for his two dirges on the death of Sidney. These were both taken bodily from poems by Bernardo Tasso, a fact which was first set forth in this Journal, XXXV, 192. Professor Stevens presents some deeds to property owned by the Milton family, the will of Edward King, and two interesting papers on *Comus*.

W. P. MUSTARD.

Sorani Gynaeciorum Libri IV. De Signis Fracturarum. De Fasciis. Vita Hippocratis Secundum Soranum. Edidit IOANNES ILBERG. Adnexae sunt tabulae XVIII. [Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, Vol. IV.] Lipsiae et Berolini in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri MCMXXVII. Pp. xxii + 282. R.-M. 22.

Despite the evil days which followed the war the great enterprise of editing the Greek medical writings has made gratifying, even astonishing progress. There was a time, a few years ago, when we had almost despaired of ultimate success, and the immediate future seemed quite hopeless. The fact that the monument of industry and self-sacrifice now proceeds stead-

ily toward its completion must give heart to every scholar, whether he is specially interested in this field or not.

Soranus, the remains of whose writings are here collected, has suffered the flings of a most unkind fortune. Long unknown except in a miserable Latin version, and when first printed in Greek so poorly edited as to be hardly intelligible, his great merits were not appreciated. Hermann Diels, who more than any other is responsible for the inception and the eventual success of the *Corpus*, conceived a high regard for our author and induced Professor Ilberg to undertake the difficult task of preparing a critical edition. "Die Überlieferung der Gynäkologie des Soranus von Ephesus," which appeared in 1910, more than justified his choice; for it is a brilliant piece of work and proved Ilberg to be the logical editor of Soranus. I am not certain at all points that alien elements have not been incorporated; but I am sure that there is no one else now living who is so well qualified to judge the degree of probability in each case as is Professor Ilberg. The difficult text has been greatly improved, and may now be approached with reasonable confidence; though there still remains many a crux to tempt the critic, he will be grateful to the editor for the foundations which he has laid. The ample indexes, prepared by Dr. Kind, appear to be carefully made; and the eighteen plates, reproducing the illustrations of bandages in the MSS., are both interesting and valuable.

W. A. HEIDEL.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

Antonii Musae De Herba Vettonica Liber. Pseudoapulei Herbarius. Anonymi De Taxone Liber. Sexti Placiti Liber Medicinae Ex Animalibus etc. Ediderunt Ernestus Howald et Henricus E. Sigerist. [Corpus Medicorum Latinorum, Vol. IV.] Lipsiae et Berolini in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MCMXXVII. Pp. xxvi + 348. R.-M. 24.

The text of these medico-botanical treatises presented by the editors appears to be the best possible with the resources now available. The MSS. have been exhaustively studied, and parallels conscientiously and intelligently noted. If improvements are to be made, it seems they will necessarily be due to lucky finds or to exceptional knowledge on the part of scholars who wander in by-paths in the fields of popular medicine and folklore. Four indices, of proper names, noteworthy words, and

names of plants, add greatly to the usefulness of the volume, which contains much that will interest lovers of folklore. Botanists also will find the excellent reproductions of the drawings of plants, which accompany the text in the MSS., of interest and value. While the works contained in the Latin Corpus are not intrinsically as valuable as those which constitute the Greek, it is meritorious to present them in good editions. No scholar can tell when he may have to use them and how great his debt may be to the editors and to the Puschmann Institute, which finances the publication.

W. A. HEIDEL.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

Greek-English (A) Lexicon. Compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and R. SCOTT. A New Edition. Revised and Augmented throughout by HENRY STUART JONES with the assistance of RODERICK MCKENZIE and with the coöperation of many scholars. Part 3: *διάλειμμα—έξεντελιστής*. New York, *Oxford University Press*, American Branch, 1927. Pp. 401-592. \$3.50.

A more extended notice of this work will appear in the next number of the American Journal of Philology. In the meantime, it is gratifying to note the rapid progress of the editors in the execution of their laborious task. Scholars who have not yet procured Parts 1-3 are depriving themselves of a valuable source of information. Sooner or later, the New Liddell and Scott will occupy a place in the library of every English-speaking student of Greek.

C. W. E. MILLER.

DICTIONARY OF LATE MEDIEVAL BRITISH LATIN

The Dictionary of Late British Latin is a comparatively new project. The work on it was started in England in 1924 in order to cover the ground untouched by the new Du Cange. Since that dictionary is to end about the year 1000 the British Latin dictionary will start at the year 1066 and end at 1600. It will contain only words found in British sources and those that are either distinctly medieval or have taken on a new meaning while retaining their classical spelling. The direction of the enterprise is centered in a committee of the British Academy with headquarters in London. There is a sub-com-

mittee for Scotland and an American committee, the latter acting under the direction of the American Council of Learned Societies. Its membership is as follows: Professors Gerould, Lunt, Neilson, Tatlock, Willard (chairman) and Woodbine.

Though substantial progress has been made, there is great need at present of more readers. Every work of a medieval writer contributes much to our knowledge of normal usage and individual peculiarities. Changes that came about during five centuries may be known only after writers in different periods have been read. A number of American scholars are reading texts, but more are needed if the gathering of words is to be completed within a reasonable number of years. This is therefore an appeal to those who have not been approached to express to any member of the committee their willingness to co-operate in the enterprise.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO,
BOULDER, COLO., FEB., 1928.

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